THE

LIFE

Of the Renowned

Peter D'Aubusson,

Grand Master of

RHODES.

Containing

Those Two Remarkable Sieges of *Rhodes* by *Mahomet* the Great, and *Solyman* the Magnificent, being lately added to compleat the Story adorn'd with the choicest Occurrences in the *Turkish* Empire at that Time.

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To the

READER.

MEN of Active Spirits, and designing Fame and honour hereafter, can no where better benefit themselves then by reading the lives of such Persons as have trod the same steps before them. For in the lives of great Personages they find those Exam-

ples of Conduct which they are either to follow or avoid. Since that by celebrating the deeds of good men, they that come after are incited to deſerve well of mankind. To this purpoſe the Author of this ſhort ſtory choſe to revive the memory of **Peter D'Aubuſſon**, *Grand Maſter of* **Rhodes**, *a Perſon for courage and piety not inferiour to any of his time.*

For the truth of what he writes, He informes ye where he had it; from an ancient Manuſcript writ-

ten-

ten by William Caourſin, *Chancellour of the Order, who wrote nothing but what he was an eye-witneſs off. As alſo from ſeveral other original Papers which he found in* Malta *it ſelf. Nor did he refuſe the help of* Khodgia Afendy, *a Turk, who living at the ſame time, wrote a Relation of the Siege with a great deal of Juſtice to the high merits of the Grand Maſter.*

Thus then the vigorous fury of Mahomet, *the zealous and fortunate reſiſtance of* D' Au-

D'Aubuſſon, *the misfortunes of* Zizim, *a pleaſing yet melancholy variety, though inſeparable from the ſtory, being the Subjects of this Relation, 'tis ſomething probable that they that ſeek either for inſtruction or divertiſement, cannot fail of their expectation. However it is wholly left to them, to be either ſevere or Candid Judges, as they find moſt Reaſon.*

The loſs of Rhodes *is added not only to compleat the ſtory, but to revive the*

renown of the Great and Famous Villerius, *who ſuſtain'd the whole power of the manificent,* Solyman *till his Pride was quite tyr'd out. Inſomuch that had not Treachery within, put a fatal period to the flouriſhing Eſtate of* Rhodes, Solyman *might have waited long enough upon* Palermos *for the conqueſt of that City. In ſhort they that read to the end of theſe few Pages, will find variety ſufficient for ſo ſmall a volume,*

lume, and a recital of such actions as rather deserv'd the Grandeur of a Heroick Poem, then the ordinary dress of Prose.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Great Maſter of RHODES.

Peter D'Aubuſſon, whoſe Hiſtory I have undertaken to write, was by providence choſen out among the *French* about two hundred years ſince, to ſet bounds to the Conqueſts of the Infidels. And He it was that ſav'd *Rome* from the deſtiny of *Conſtantinople*, defending *Rhodes* againſt all the force of Mahomet the ſecond, Emperour of the *Turks*.

He was the Son of *Reginald D' Aubuſſon*, Lord of *Monteil-au-Vicomte* in *Marche*, and *Margaret* of *Comborn*, both of the moſt Ancient and Illuſtrious Houſes in the Kingdom. He receiv'd from nature;

together with a Noble Birth, a strong and proportionable body, fit for great undertakings; a quick wit, and vertuous inclinations.

As he was born valiant, and that the fiery constitution of his body, could not away with an idle life, he took upon him the profession of Arms, so soon as he was of Age to handle a sword.

The Truce which had been concluded between *France* and *England*, by the address of *Cardinal Sainte Croix*, Legate to Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, and the Peace which follow'd, oblig'd him to seek for Employment and Honour in *Germany*.

The Emperour *Sigismund* had potent enemies both at home and abroad. The *Hussites* made war against him in *Bohemia*; and though they seem'd inclinable to a submission after the bloody Battel of *Pragne*, where they lost above twenty thousand men, yet Rebellion was all they had in their thoughts. They were also so much the more to be fear'd, by how much they were highly inrag'd at

at their defeat, and that rage redoubl'd in ſome meaſure the zeal which ſerv'd for the pretence of their Revolt.

But the greateſt miſchief was in *Hungary*, where the *Turks* made horrible havocks. *Sigiſmund*, who was at that time tak'n up with the affairs of the Council of *Baſle*, not being able to oppoſe himſelf againſt the Torrent which threatned to overflow all *Germany*, ſent away with all ſpeed, *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria* his Son-in-law, to repel the *Barbarians*.

Aubuſſon by chance, or rather by a particular Providence of Heaven, got a Command in this Army. For providence having deſign'd him to a Profeſſion and a Truſt that concern'd the Defence of Chriſtendom, ſo order'd it, that he ſhould perform his firſt feats of Arms againſt the enemies thereof.

The Prince march'd with all the haſt he could, and though far inferiour in number, he no ſooner diſcover'd the *Ottoman* Army, but he fell on with out any farther deliberation. The beginning of the Combat favor'd

the Imperialiſts. They overturn'd at firſt whatever Reſiſtance oppos'd them, and made a very great Slaughter. *Aubuſſon*, who felt his courage kindl'd upon ſight of the Infidels, ſlew a great many with his own hand, and fought alwaies in the formoſt Ranks. But when the Victory ſeemd to have been aſſuredly on *Alberts* ſide, the Turkiſh Cavalry ſurrounded that of the Chriſtians, and fell upon them ſo impetuouſly, that they made them give way, and broke them upon the firſt charge. The diſorder was not long. *Aubuſſon* rally'd all the Troops about him, and renew'd the fight under the conduct of a Hungarian, whoſe name is not recorded in Hiſtories, though his valor deſerves to live eternally in the memory of men.

This brave perſon, remarkable for his tall ſize of body, and his undaunted Air, together with *Aubuſſon*, ſuſtain'd, almoſt without other Aſſiſtance, all the whole power of the Enemy; and with his battle-axe in his hand, after he had beat down ſe-

veral,

veral, made his way through the reſt. Which Action ſo Reſolute, as it terrifi'd the *Turks*, ſo it reincourag'd the Chriſtians. All *Alberts* Troopes follow'd this new Leader, who ſeemd to be ſent to them from Heaven; and as if they had at the ſame time been inſpir'd with freſh Vigour, they charg'd the *Barbarians* ſo rudely, that eighteen thouſand lay dead upon the place, the reſt thought of nothing but Flight.

While the Arms of *Sigiſmund* had this happy ſucceſs in *Hungary*, his affairs proſper'd no leſs in other places. The *Huſſites*, weak'nd by their Loſſes, and either terrifi'd by the Threats, or gain'd by the Promiſes of Emperor, at length return'd to their duty, The Treaty of *Prague* put an end to all the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and upon a ſudden the Imperial Authority was re-eſtabliſh'd.

All things being thus calm'd, and *Albert* having disbanded his Troops, *Aubuſſon* attended the Nobility that went to the Emperour's Court. There he was receiv'd as one that contribu-

red highly to the Victory in *Hungary*; and that which was related to *Sigiſmund* touching the Valour of the young *French* Gentleman, engag'd that Prince to give him publick marks of his eſteem and acknowledgment. But *Aubuſſon* not only attracted the praiſes and favours of the Emperour, by his firſt exploits in War: for he alſo gain'd his good will and kindneſs by his carriage near his perſon, and the care which he took to pleaſe him.

Sigiſmund was endu'd with all the noble Qualities of a great Prince. Beſides that he was valiant, wiſe, religious; he lov'd Learning in particular, and had a great value for learned men, whom he preferr'd upon all occaſions, before perſons that had nothing to recommend them but their Birth. He was himſelf learned, perfectly well read in Hiſtory. He underſtood and ſpoke the Latine tongue, as he made it appear at the Council of *Conſtance*, by the teſtimony of *Gerſon* Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Paris*, who was preſent there, and was

charm'd

charm'd with the laſt ſpeech of that Prince. For that reaſon he could not endure ignorance in his Courtiers; and would ſay ſometimes, that he was aſham'd of the Electors, who had not the leaſt tincture of Learning.

Though *Aubuſſon* were endu'd with a Martial ſoul, and that the love of war overſwayd his Inclinations, yet had he a diſpoſition and a Genious for Learning. He had a quick and piercing wit; a happy memory, and a ſolid judgment. So that it was no difficult thing for him to conform himſelf to the humour of the Emperor, having in a ſhort time fitted himſelf for all manner of addreſſes. After he had ſtudy'd the languages as much as was requiſite for a Souldier to know; he apply'd himſelf to the underſtanding of all the noble ſciences. He learnt the Mapps, the Mathematicks, and above all the reſt, that part with concernes the Art of war. But *Hiſtory* was his Principal ſtudie; He made a kind of buſineſs & Exerciſe of it, reading more to inſtruct

then divert himſelf. For he was not contented to charge his memory with great names, and ſtrange Accidents, as many do that read; but he ſtill made Judicious reflections upon what he read; propoſing to himſelf, as examples to follow, the actions of men Illuſtrious. Above all things, he examin'd the lives of great men, and making advantage of their Vices, as well as of their Vertues, he became a Maſter to himſelf for the governing his own Manners.

Whatever love he had for reading, and what ever pleaſure he took in it, yet he ſtudy'd the world more then books: and above all the world, and all books, the Emperor. As he had a free acceſs to his perſon, and was with him every day, he was able to obſerve nere at hand his Maximes, his words his actions, and all his behaviour. But among all the Vertues of *Sigiſmund* he was taken with none more then his Zeal for the Chriſtian Faith; of which he ſhew'd ſo many real marks, not only in the Councils which he upheld by his authority and preſence,

preſence, but alſo by the wars which he undertook againſt the *Infidels*.

Thus the Court, which is uſually the corrupter of youth, was to *Aubuſſon* a ſchool of wiſdom and vertue. Where, beſides the love which it taught him to have for learning, and to make a ſound judgment of things, he acquir'd Integrity, and became a man of Vertue and Repute.

With ſuch noble Inclinations as theſe, he might eaſily pretend to great employments in a Court where Juſtice was done to merit. And certainly he had attain'd thereto, as much a ſtranger as he was, had not his Fortunes been overturnd by the Death of the Emperor.

Albert Duke of *Auſtria*, who ſucceeded *Sigiſmund*, had not for *Aubuſſon* thoſe kind thoughts as his predeceſſors. Whether it were that he did not naturally love the *French*, or whether the Favors of the deceas'd Emperour provok'd his hatred of a ſtranger

Aubuſſon quickly percev'd that the Emperor

Emperor had got a new Maſter, and that the beſt courſe that he could take was to be gone. But though that Conſideration might not have prevail'd with him to quit *Germany*, yet his duty would have oblig'd to return to *France*.

The Treaty at *Arras* for the accommodation between the two Kings of *England* and *France* not taking effect, as it was hop'd, the War broke out again between the two Kings: So that there happ'nd divers ſieges, and divers fights, with more heat and animoſity then ever. The *Engliſh* made great ſpoil in the Provinces of which they were not Maſters; and the *French* divided among themſelves, committed as great violences every where; ſo that what between a Forraign and a Civil War joyn'd together, the whole Kingdom was full of confuſion and horrour.

This was the ſtate of the Affairs of *France* when *Sigiſmund* di'd, and that *Aubuſſon* forſook *Germany* to come and ſerve his own Country. *John D' Aubuſſon* Lord of *Born*, his Couſin-

Couſin-German, and Chamberlain to *Charles* the ſeventh, brought him to Court. So ſoon as he came there, his proper perſon, his ſparkling countenance, his noble Air attracted the eyes of all upon him; but his prudent and honeſt carriage, his wit, his politeneſs, his pleaſant converſation gain'd almoſt the hearts of every one.

In regard he was of the County of *Marche*, and younger Son of the Vicounts of that County, the Count of *Marche*, Govornour of the *Dolphin*, ſhew'd him great reſpect, and did him the honour to be his Patron. This Relation which *Aubuſſon* had to the Count, gave him opportunity often to wait upon the *Dolphin*, who was almoſt of Age. He obtain'd his love, being ſo happy as to ſhare in the exerciſes and divertiſements of the Prince. He had alſo the good fortune to pleaſe *Charles* the ſeventh, who ſaw in him at firſt ſight ſomething that was great and not common. But it was not long ere he ſhew'd by his actions, that what we

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conceiv'd of him, was not without good ground. He ſignaliz'd himſelf in a high meaſure at *Montereau Faut-yone*, whither he attended the *Dolphin*, who commanded at the Siege. The King who had been himſelf a witneſs of the valour of *Aubuſſon*, when he carry'd the City by Aſſault, making his entry a little while after into *Paris*, commanded his attendance upon him to Court, with the chief of his Nobility. This Entry was one of the moſt magnificent that ever was made: And it may be truly ſaid to be the firſt day that *Charles* began to reaſcend his Throne. Several Cities follow'd the example of the Capital; and thoſe that ſtood out were for the moſt part reduc'd by force. *Aubuſſon* every where gave ſignal marks of his Courage; but upon one occaſion he made it apparent that a young Warriour might be as well prudent as cunning.

At what time the power of the *Engliſh* abated in the Kingdom, that of the fair *Agnes* increas'd at Court. As ſhe was wonderfully charming,

and

and one that underſtood better then any woman of her ſex, how to govern her Lovers, ſhe obtain'd in a ſhort while an abſolute Dominion over the King. But according to the cuſtom of women, whoſe credit ariſes from their Beauty, ſhe made but an ill uſe of the Kings favours. The *Dolphin*, who was not naturally very docible, could not endure a haughty and imperious woman, who had but little reſpect for him. On the other ſide, the great Authority of *Charles* of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *Sicily* offended him extreamly. He took it ill, that a Prince, for whom he had no kindneſs, ſhould have ſo great a ſhare in the confidence of his Father. So that the Favorite was no leſs a trouble to him then the Miſtreſs.

But that which vex'd him moſt of all, was, that after the taking of *Montereau*, where he fought ſo well againſt the *Engliſh*, that in Courtſhip they applauded him for it before the King, he had but a bad reception from his Father, inſtead of the thanks which he

ne expected. For the King perceiving that this firſt Eſſay had puft up the mind of his ſon, he return'd him under the Diſcipline of his Goverment, and remov'd him alſo from the Court. Whether he were jealous of a valour that made ſuch a noiſe in the world; or whether, underſtanding the bad diſpoſition of the *Dolphin*, he thought this firſt ſucceſs of his might tranſport him too far, if he did not take care to curb him.

The *Dolphin* diſſembl'd his diſſatisfaction for ſome time; but a young Prince once provok'd, whoſe paſſions are violent, and who never wants bad counſel, is ſoon aweary of counterfeiting. And therefore to revenge himſelf like the Son of a King, he went and put himſelf at the head of the Rebellious Nobility.

The Count of *Marche*, to whom the revolt of his diſciple was no ſmall diſhonour, omitted nothing that might reduce him to his duty. Beſides what he did himſelf, he made uſe of the management of *Aubuſſon*, whom the Prince lov'd, and who had found a

means

means to preſerve his favour without confederating in the revolt. Certain it is that the *Dolphin* was of a jealous, & tickliſh diſpoſition, not eaſie to manage; and one of thoſe who are of that head ſtrong & obſtinate humour, that they are ſeldom to be recover'd, when they have once fix'd upon their party. But *Aubuſſon* knew him very well, and underſtood which way to take him. For he had thoſe ſweet and inſinuating charms, which are not incompatible with a fierce and fiery Diſpoſition. But above all, he had a natural Eloquence, that always wrought it's Effect, and which perſwades ſo much the more, by how much it is the leſs diſtruſted. So that he had not much to do to make the Prince liſt'n to reaſon. He ſo dextrouſly mannag'd his paſſions, and mollify'd him in ſuch ſort by degrees, that when the Count of *Eu*, came afterwards to treat with him on the Kings behalf, he found him altogether enclin'd to lay down his Armes, and beg pardon.

The King was ſo ſatisfy'd with *Aubuſſons* addreſs upon this occaſion, that he

employ'd

employ'd him in other Negotiations of concernment. In all which he ſo behav'd himſelf, that *Charles* the fifth highly applauded the ſharpneſs of his wit. Inſomuch that one day, ſpeaking of *Aubuſſon*, he ſaid, it was a hard matter to find ſo much fire and ſo much prudence both together.

After the Princes were come to an accommodation, the War grew very warm between the French and Engliſh, and much blood was ſhed on both ſides. But the truces that were afterwards made, chang'd the whole face of affairs. *France* began to breath a more quiet Aire; and the pleaſures which afterwards ſucceded the Toyles of war, had perhaps effeminated the hearts of the ſouldiers; if their Marches into *Lorrain* and *Germany* had not found them work.

Rene of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily* and Duke of *Lorrain*, requeſted aid of *Charles* King of *France*, his Brother in Law, againſt ſome places in the Countrey of *Meſſin*, that would not acknowledg his Iuriſdiction. *Charles* preſently appeares before *Nancy* with a great

great Army; of which one part went briskly to beſeige Mets. The City defended it ſelf with great courage and obſtinacy. Upon which the Dolphin, with whom the tediouſneſs of the ſeige did not agree, found a fair occaſion to ſatisfie his boyling and ambitious Humour.

The Emperor *Frederick* the third, diſſatisfi'd with the *Swiſſes*, who pretended to have nothing to do with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and who under that pretence affected a kind of Independencie, not much differing from a Revolt; invited *France* by the mediation of *Sigiſmund*, Duke of *Auſtria*, to come and defend the Rights of the Empire. There needed no more encouragement for the Dolphin, who had eſpouſed the Siſter of the Dutcheſs of *Auſtria*, to enter *Alſacia* with an Army. *Aubuſſon* was one of the young Lords that attended him, and one who had the greateſt ſhare in the defeat of the *Swiſſes* near *Baſle*: But the Duke having reduc'd ſome places, and caſt a terror upon others, march'd back again ſooner then was expected.

either because the Emperour, unwilling to draw upon himself ill will, for being the occasion of the war, in some measure disown'd it; or because the *German* Lord, who had conducted the *French* Army into *Switzerland*, and was to have been their guide through all the narrow and difficult streights of the Mountains, being slain, there was no safety in proceeding farther.

In the mean time the Affair of *Metz* being brought to an accommodation, advantageous for the Besiegers, and honourable for the Besieged; the Embassadors of the *German* Princes, whom the Dolphins march had alarm'd, came to demand a confirmation of the ancient Alliances between *France* and *Germany*. Their demands were granted them; and as there is a time when the Spirit of Peace is predominant, the truce was prolong'd for five years between *France* and *England*. The Court in such a quiet calm began to think of nothing but divertisement: and the Marriage of *Margaret*, Daughter of the

the King of *Sicilie*, with *Henry* King of *England*, occaſion'd ſuch extraordinary rejoycings, that they had almoſt forgot their laſt troubles. Never was a more beautiful Court, nor a more numerous, then that of *Nancy*: For not to ſpeak of the ſeveral Princes and Princeſſes that were of leſſer dignity, there were two Kings, and three Queens beſide. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was ſent to fetch the new Queen of *England*, had with him the flower of the Engliſh Nobility. Several daies were alſo ſpent in magnificent Turnaments, where the King of *France*, and the King of *Sicily* ran together.

But *Aubuſſon* ſoon grew weary of that which employ'd others ſo much to their delight. Beſides that he naturally lov'd war, he had Principles of Piety which did not correſpond with a lazie and voluptuous life. On the other ſide, the victories of *John Hunniades*, and *George Caſtriote*, which they had obtain'd againſt *Amurat*, inſpir'd him with a new zeal for Religion: and the Cruelties which

the *Turks* exercis'd againſt the Chriſtians at the Battel of *Varna*, awakn'd in him the hatred which he had conceiv'd againſt the Enemies of Jeſus Chriſt.

He could not but with great grief of mind underſtand the report which ran at that time, that *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, and Cardinal *Ceſarini*, the Popes Legate had been flead alive by thoſe Barbarians. But it was joyful news to him, that the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, had obtain'd ſeveral advantages againſt the *Saracens*; and that the Soldan of *Ægypt*, had a little before rais'd his ſeige from before *Rhodes*. In the midſt of theſe thoughts, he took a reſolution to fight againſt the Infidels, and to the end he might be indiſpenſably engag'd thereto, he fram'd a deſign at the ſame time to embrace the military order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Heaven, that inſpir'd him with theſe high thoughts, gave him the power to execute them with ſpeed. He departed for *Rhodes*, not all the Charms of the Court being able to detain him.

The

The multitude of *French* Gentlemen that daily throng'd to *Rhodes* to be made Knights, had oblig'd the Grand-maſter to make an Order that none would be receiv'd, until the Treaſury, exhauſted by the late Wars, were ſomewhat repleniſh'd. Nevertheleſs *Aubuſſon* was admitted; whether it were that they ſaw in his perſon ſomewhat extraordinary that ſpake in his behalf, or that it were a peculiar favour, in reſpect to *Lewis D'Aubuſſon* his Uncle, one of the moſt famous Knights of *Rhodes*, and known in Hiſtory by the name of the Commander of *Charroux*: Or whether it were that the Grand-maſter were inſpir'd to exceed his own Rules in favour of a Perſon, who was afterwards to be the ſupport of the Order.

Our new Knight had no great difficulty to undergo the uſual Examinations, though at that time they were much more ſtrict than afterwards. For all things that render a Family Illuſtrious, were to be found with advantage in his: For as to the antiqui-

ty of it, the original of the Houſe of *Aubuſſon*, is unknown and uncertain, as of moſt Families in the world. But that which may be certainly averr'd is this; that in the time of *Charlemaine*, the Anceſtors of *Pierre D' Aubuſſon* were very famous in *France*. For the Kings of the ſecond race having ſettl'd Counts to govern every Province, and theſe Lords alwayes chooſing the greateſt Lords of their Province for their Lieutenants, *Jeffrey*, firſt Count of *Marche*, choſe his Lieutenant out of the Houſe of *Aubuſſon*, about the year 866. This Lieutenant to the Lord, whoſe name we know not, was call'd Vicount *D'Aubuſſon* from the name of the principal Place which he poſſeſs'd.

Turpin, who was elected Biſhop of *Limoges* in the year 898, and whom *Aymar* of *Chabanois* extolls no leſs for the ſplendor of his Birth, then for the holineſs of his Life, was the Son of the firſt Vicount of *Aubuſſon*, and Brother of *Reginald* the firſt, who was Vicount under his Father,

under

under *Sulpicius* the ſecond, Earl of *Marche*, Son of *Jefferey*.

The dignity of Vicount remain'd above four hundred years in that Family of *Aubuſſon*, ſucceſſively from Father to Son, till that Raymund the firſt having no Children, ſold it to *Hugues* Earl of *March*, to the prejudice of his Brother *Ranulphus D'Aubuſſon*, who continu'd the Poſterity.

Piety and Liberality, which in thoſe times highly diſtinguiſh'd the great Lords from thoſe of mean extraction, were hereditary vertues in this Family. For, not to ſpeak any thing of Biſhop *Turpin*, ſo magnificent in all that concern'd the worſhip of the Altar; the Vicounts *D'Aubuſſon*, were alwaies very Religious, and gave conſiderable Donations to ſeveral Churches and Abbeys.

Theſe Lords and their Deſcendants ſignaliz'd themſelves upon ſeveral Occaſions, where the intereſt of *France* was concern'd. Witneſs *Guy D'Aubuſſon*, who performed ſo many noble Acts, in the War with the *Engliſh* under *Charles* the fifth, who having re-

ceiv'd many wounds in the defence of his Castle of *Monteil*, was tak'n Prisoner with his Wife and Children by the Enemy. Witness also *John D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Borne*, *Anthony D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Villeneare*, and *Anthony D' Aubusson* Lord of *Monteil*, who made their fidelity and their zeal for the service of *Charles* the seventh appear; whose Chamberlaines they were at such a time when all the Kings Officers were Peers of high quality.

Lastly, that which infinitely advances the House of *Aubusson*, and perhaps distinguishes it from all others, is this, that being so ancient, it was never mix'd, but has still in the same County preserv'd the same Estate: so that *Francis D' Aubusson*, Duke and Peer, Marshal of *France*, and Collonel of the French Guards, possesses at this day the Signiory of *Fueillade*, which has been time out of mind in the possession of the Vicounts *D' Aubusson* his Ancestors.

But to return to our History, *Aubusson* was no sooner arriv'd at *Rhodes*,

Rhodes, but he underſtood that there was a peace going to be made with *Amurat*, and that it was almoſt concluded by the Soldan of *Egypt*. In regard he had an extream paſſion to fight with the enemies of Chriſt, this news was not overwelcome to him, only he was in hopes that it would ſoon be brok'n.

In the mean time he ſet himſelf to ſtudy the duty of a true Knight. Preſently he underſtood that the Knights of *Rhodes* were to joyn together in Valour and Piety: that a cowardly Knight, or a Libertine, was ſomething monſtrous: that for them to live according to the intent of their Calling, there was a neceſſity for them exactly to follow the maxims of the Goſpel, and that they were not to draw their Swords, but in the defence of the Church, or for the relief of the Faithful: that for that reaſon they wore their Croſs upon their Habit, and that their Impreſſe was, *For the Faith*. He oft'n revolv'd in his mind the vertues and the exploits of thoſe ancient Knights that firſt made themſelves

ſelves Maſters of *Rhodes*, and afterwards ſo couragiouſly withſtood *Ottoman* the firſt King of the *Turks*.

But notwithſtanding the peace, becauſe it did not hinder the roving of Turkiſh Pyrates, he ſeveral times put forth to Sea, and ſo well acquitted himſelf upon all occaſions that preſented, that he obtain'd the commandery of *Sulins*, in the firſt years of his ſervice.

John de Luſtic, who at that time govern'd the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and who was the firſt to whom the publick vogue gave the title of *Grand-maſter*, ſoon conceiv'd a high Opinion of Monſieur *D' Aubuſſon*, as well as *James de Milli*, who was *Grand Prior* of *Auvergne*, and who ſucceeded *John de Luſtic* in the charge of Grand-maſter.

The affairs of *Rhodes* were calm enough, when the death of *Amurath*, or rather the ambition of *Mahomet* his ſucceſſor, rais'd ſtrange troubles over all Chriſtendom.

Mahomet the ſecond is ſo often mention'd in the ſtory, that I am to write,

write, that it will not be amiſs to deſcribe him before I go any farther. He was one of thoſe extraordinary perſonages, who are not only endow'd with great Vertues, and great Vices; but one alſo freight with qualities altogether oppoſite. Never was there a Prince more wiſe, or more led away; more valiant, nor more effeminate, more a Maſter, nor more a Slave to his paſſions then he. Though he had a Countenance ſomewhat wild, and ſomething of terrible in his eyes, he could put on a mild and engaging Aire when he pleas'd. His Serraglio follow'd him every where; and he gave himſelf up to his pleaſures in the midſt of the toyles of war; but he was melancholy and cruel in the height of his pleaſures, killing ſometimes with his own hand his Favourites and his Miſtreſſes in the heat of his debauchery; ſo ſoon he alter'd from love to choler and fury. He alſo committed theſe cruelties ſometimes in cold blood, more out of Policy then tranſportation. And it is reported of him, that when he reproach-

proach'd the Souldiers for effeminacie, and ſlackneſs in diſcipline; certain among them taking the boldneſs to hit him in the teeth with a young Grecian whom he paſſionately lov'd, he caus'd her to be brought forth, and to be by them beheld at leiſure; whereupon when the Souldiers dazl'd with her beauty, agreed that the Emperors paſſion was not without good reaſon; *Mahomet* immediately ſtriking off her dead with his Scimitar, laid her head at their feet, to let them underſtand, that Pleaſure was not his Maſter, and that whatever proneneſs he had to it, he lov'd nothing beyond his duty.

He was brought up by his Mother in the principles of Chriſtianity, & inſtructed by *Maximus*, Patriarch of the *Greeks*. However, he only made profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion, or ratherhe had no Religion at all; laughing at his Prophet, and regarding leſs theAlcaron then the Goſpel. He freely confeſs'd that the Chriſtian Law was an admirable Law: but he ſo much abhorr'd the Chriſtians, that when he met

met with one, he was alwaies wont to waſh his hands and mouth, as if the very ſight of a Chriſtian had defil'd him.

He thought all things lawful to obtain his ends: and never kept his word, but when it ſtood with the conveniencie of his affairs. For he pretended that he ow'd no reſpect to any one, and treated all men like ſlaves, not conſidering that he ow'd to himſelf the fulfilling of the word which he had giv'n to others, and that the laws of fidelity oblige the Maſters as well as the Slaves. Yet was he juſt to his Subjects, and adminiſter'd juſtice equally to all his people. He thought much, ſpoke little, neglected nothing, inform'd himſelf of all things, and diſguis'd himſelf often to ſee what paſs'd in his Serraglio, and in his Army. He underſtood ſeveral Languages, and ſeveral Sciences, amongſt the reſt Aſtrology, which he ſtudy'd very much. He was a lover of learned men, and excellent Artiſts of any Nation whatever. Magnificent toward

ward the one and the other. Obſerving no moderation in reward, no more then he did in puniſhment. Indefatigable he was in war, a contemner of danger, reſolute in bad fortune, inſolent or moderate in proſperitie, as occaſion requir'd: cunning to conceal his enterpriſes, and diſcover thoſe of his enemies: Artificial in his management, making uſe of the vileſt means to compaſs his ends: but ambitious to exceſs: accounting all his conqueſts as nothing, and ſtill every day propoſing new to himſelf. So predominant was the love of honour in him, and *Alexander* the great ſo much his model, that he read his life continually, which he cauſed on purpoſe to be tranſlated into Arabic, and he did him the honour to imitate him even in his vices.

When *Mahomet* had taken poſſeſſion of the *Ottoman* Empire, after the death of *Amurath* his Father, he was preſently for an univerſal Monarchy, and firſt he undertook to ſubdue the Empire of the *Greeks*. He began his military expeditions with the

feige

ſeige of the Capital, notwithſtanding the peace which he had made with *Conſtantine Paleologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; or rather it was under the protection of a peace ſolemnly ſworn, that the *Barbarian* turn'd his armes upon that ſide.

In regard *Conſtantine* had made no proviſion againſt an attempt which he did not miſtruſt, and for that the ſuccour which he receiv'd from the King of *Arragon*, the Pope, and the Republick of *Venice* came too late, he could not ſuſtain the force of ſo great an Army; ſo that the City was carri'd by aſſault by the Infidels, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the Chriſtians. Never was ſeen a more tragical ſpectacle, than that which was then beheld. They made a moſt horrible ſlaughter every where; nothing eſcap'd the fury of the Souldiers. Women & Virgins of qualitie were publickly defil'd; and afterwards inhumanly maſſacred. The Images & reliques of the Saints were cut to pieces. The Reſemblances of Chriſt thrown to the dogs; and the great

great Crucifix dragg'd about the ſtreets, with moſt dreadful acclamations and imprecations. *Conſtantine* rather choſe to dye in the defence of his Crown and faith, then to fall alive into the hands of the Barbarians. His head was carried upon a Lance round about the City; and that there might not any footſtep remain of the family of the *Paleologi*, *Mahomet* caus'd the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood-Royal to be ſlain in the midſt of a magnificent Banquet, whereat he treated the Principal Officers of his Army.

The taking of *Conſtantinople* caſt a terror upon all the *Eaſt*, and oblig'd the Deſpote of *Servia*, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Emperour of *Trebizond*, to ſue for the friendſhip of the Turk. Which they could not obtain, but upon paying a certain Tribute, as the Iſlands of *Scio*, and *Meteline* did. The Knights of *Rhodes* would not ſtoop to any ſuch diſhonourable condition; and though *Mahomets* Ambaſſador threatn'd the Knights with all that could be expected from a Potent

a Potent and Victorious Prince, if they refus'd to pay him 2000. Duccats a year, the Grand-Maſter anſwer'd with a generous Chriſtianity, That the Order of *Rhodes* acknowledg'd none but the Apoſtolick See, which knew not what it was to pay Tribute: and that for his part he was reſolv'd rather to dye a thouſand deaths, then to ſuffer in his time, that the Government which he had receiv'd free, ſhould become tributary; and that if *Mahomet* made war againſt the faith of Treaties, he hop'd that God, who is the revenger of injuries and impieties, would defend his own Worſhip againſt all the *Ottoman* Power.

In regard the Knights were fearful leaſt ſo fierce an Anſwer might provoke *Mahomet*, they made it their buſineſs to provide againſt ſo formidable an enemy. But becauſe the Society was then poor, and not able to maintain a long war of it ſelf, they thought it their beſt way to engage the Chriſtian Princes to their ſide; eſpecially the King of *France*, upon

whom they lookt upon as the beſt friend of their Order. The Commander *D' Aubuſſon* was choſen for this Embaſſage out of all the Commanders of the French Nation. Not only becauſe he had a particular knowledge and dexterity in managing affairs, but becauſe he was known to the Court of *France*.

He departed from *Rhodes* at the time that *James de Milli* ſucceeded *John de Luſtic*, Grand-Maſter of the Order, and arriv'd in *France*, a little after the Cardinal *d'Avignon*, whom the Pope had ſent thither, to encite the French againſt the *Turk*. The Embaſſador of *Rhodes* was entertain'd after an extraordinary manner, either becauſe the Court had a great eſteem for him, or becauſe they had a deſign to keep him in delay. He ſaw through the gentleneſs and careſſes which he receiv'd, which way the Court ſtood affected toward the Holy-war. The King would not undertake it by any means, whether he thought his Kingdom too much exhauſted to defray the expence of a

war

war that might prove of a long continuance; or whether he minded nothing but his Repoſe, after his paſt toiles, or that the Charms of the fair *Agnes* had cool'd his zeal which he formerly had for the intereſt of the Church; or whether it were that he would not ſubmit to the inclinations of his Son, who was retir'd male-content, to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, the moſt zealous of all the Chriſtian Princes, and one that had declar'd himſelf ſo much an enemy of the Turk, that he ſolemnly ſwore to make war upon them.

The Cardinal Legate who was a Frenchman, and very underſtanding in affairs, appli'd himſelf wholly to effect this Negotiation. After many Conferences in vain with the publick Miniſters, he treated at laſt in particular with the King, not being able to obtain any thing. *Caliſtus* being advertis'd of the Kings diſpoſition, writ to him very ſharp Letters; threatning him at length with the Thunderbolts of *Rome*, and the Malediction of Heaven, if he refus'd

the holy League. Thoſe Letters wrought no effect, if they did not make it worſe. The King was incens'd at the Popes threats, and not perſwaded by his reaſons. In ſuch a tickliſh conjuncture, there appear'd no probability of hopes for the Commander *D' Aubuſſon.* However he ceas'd not to act: and in regard that beſides the character of an Embaſſador he had other good qualities, which made him eſteem'd by the King and his Miniſters, he was heard more favourably then the Legate.

He repreſented at firſt that Chriſtendom was never in more eminent danger, and that there was nothing which we had not to fear, if the Progreſs of the Infidels were not quickly ſtopp'd; that *Mahomet* ſince the taking of *Conſtantinople* aim'd at nothing but *Rome*; that he was fall'n into *Hungaria*, to enter into *Germany*, with a purpoſe to make his way that way into *Italy*. That it was one of his maxims, that as there is but one God in Heaven, ſo there could not be but one Monarch upon Earth: That he

he had been conſtrain'd to raiſe his ſiege before *Belgrade*, becauſe he had not taken the right courſe, and for that he had been wounded himſelf, but that his misfortune had no way diſincourag'd him; that he was one of thoſe great men that make the beſt advantage of their errors and misfortunes; or rather that he was like the fiercer ſort of Beaſts, who when they have receiv'd a wound and feel their blood begin to flow, are never more furious till then. That ſince his ill ſucceſs in *Hungary*, he had drawn to his ſide the Soldan of *Egypt*, the *Caraman* and the *Tartar*, and that he would return with freſh forces to the ſiege of the *Belgrade*; and that his Generals who had tak'n almoſt all the Iſles in the *Archipelago*, would ſoon powre their fury upon *Rhodes*. In ſhort that thoſe two Ramparts of Chriſtendom being forc'd, not any of the Dominions of the Chriſtian Princes could be ſafe, either by Sea or Land.

Aubuſſon, afterwards repreſented to the King, that being the eldeſt Son

the Church, he could not forſake their intereſt without diſhonour to himſelf. That as for the tranſportment of the Pope, it was but a tranſportment of zeal, and that his good intentions deſerv'd the pardon of a few ſharp expreſſions. He added at length, that becauſe there were in *Rhodes* more Knights of the French, then of any other Nations in the world the Monarch of *France* could not in juſtice diſpence with ſuccouring the Iſland, at a time when it lay only in his power to do it. That *Alphonſus* King of *Aragon*, ſo wiſe and ſo brave before he came into *Italy*, was not only effeminated by the delights of *Naples*, but embroyl'd with Pope *Calixtus*; who though a native of *Arragon*, had refus'd to give him the inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and to aſſure the ſucceſſion to *Ferdinand* his natural ſon. That *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, as poor ſpirited, and more vitious then his Father, had buſineſs at home and abroad; and that his Rebellious ſubjects found him as much work, as the Moors of *Granada* his

his Neighbours and Enemies. That *Henry* of *England* was not Maſter at home, and that the Duke of *York* who had uſurp'd the Government, minded nothing but to ſuſtain himſelf againſt his Rivals. That the Emperor *Frederick* liv'd an idle life, minding neither his own honor, nor the ſafety of Chriſtendom. That beſides, the war grew hot between the Empire and *Hungary*, and that *Ladiſlaus* at the ſame time was to make head againſt the Emperor and the Turk. That civil diſſentions turmoyl'd all *Italy*, and that the Kingdoms of *Sweedland* & *Danemark* were full of troubles, *Chriſtiern* had been ſet up in the place of *Charles*, whoſe irregularities and crimes had render'd him unworthy of the Crown. That *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, quiet enough at home, wanted not a good will, but that all he could do was but very little, if a Prince more potent then himſelf did not aſſiſt him. That thus *France* being the only Kingdom in *Europe* that enjoy'd a true peace; it was only from *France*

that they could expect relief ſufficient to ruine the deſignes of the Port, and for that reaſon parhaps it was that Heaven had freed it from the power of the *Engliſh*.

All theſe reaſons propounded after a ſmart and inſinuating manner, made a deep impreſſion upon *Charles*'s thoughts. That Prince who was ſo averſe before to the Holy-war, began to deſire it, and awaking from the profound ſleep wherein his pleaſures had lull'd him, he only follow'd the motions of his Piety and Courage. He gave liberty to Cardinal *D'Avignon* to leavy a tenth upon the Clergy, to defray the expence of the war; he entred into a League againſt *Mahomet* with *Hungarie*, and that there might be no queſtion of his faithful inclinations, he confirm'd the League by the marriage of *Magdalene* of *France* his Daughter with King *Ladiſlaus*. As for the Knights, he promis'd them all aſſiſtance, and immediately caus'd ſixtie thouſand Crowns in Gold to be paid to the Embaſſador of *Rhodes*.

Aubuſſon

Aubuſſon lay'd out that mony for proviſions of war, according to the orders he receiv'd, and freighted away Ships laden with Canon, Armes, Powder and Lead. Then he departed himſelf, after he had collected moſt of the money, which was due to the Order in ſeveral parts of *Europe*.

The ſucceſs of the Embaſſie, and the Letter which he preſented to the Grand-Maſter from the King of *France*, made him to be acceptably receiv'd by the Knights and all the people. The Letter was very generous and very obliging. For the King after he had only ſpok'n a word or two touching the gratifying of their deſires, and excus'd himſelf for not having done more at the preſent juncture, frankly engag'd himſelf to give them farther aſſiſtance, and aſſur'd them of his friendſhip, in very civil and affectionate language, which Kings were not wont to make uſe of.

But whatever obligation the Order had to *Charles* the ſeventh, the Spaniſh

niſh Knights could not forbear to deal very rudely with the French Knights at a general Chapter, held a little after the return of the Embaſſador, and which was no leſs famous for the attempts of Hoſtile Nations or enemies of *France*, then for the number of famous Commanders that were preſent.

So ſoon as the Chapter war open'd, the Knight *de Linian*, Procurator of the Spaniſh tongue, ſtood up, and ſaid aloud, that they ought not to proceed any farther, without decreeing one Article which he ought to propoſe, and which was very important, the publick tranquility. To which purpoſe, he requir'd, that all the dignities of the Order ſhould be equal, and that there ſhould be no diſtinction of Languages, nor of precedency, nor in any other marks of Honour. He was ſeconded in his propoſal, by the Knight *de Rivalta*, Procurator of the Italian tongue, and the Procurators all *England* and *Germany*. But the French, who had alwayes march'd before other Nations, oppos'd

poſ'd with all their might the Propoſal of *Linian*, and above all the Commander *D'Aubuſſon*, who held a conſiderable degree in the Aſſembly, by vertue of his title of Conſtable of *Rhodes*, and Procurator of the Grand-Maſter.

The zeal which he had for the Honour of his Country, made him ſpeak louder and more earneſt then the reſt. To ſhew how unjuſt the Propoſition of the Spaniards was, he declar'd in few words, that the French being the firſt Founders of the *Order of St.* John *of* Jeruſalem, deſerv'd ſuch honour as ſhould diſtinguiſh them from other Languages that were aſſociated with them, and which they had adopted: That thoſe particular honours being the recompence of their vertue, it would be injuſtice to deprive them of them. That their Predeceſſors had peaceably enjoy'd them, without being ever moleſted or oppos'd: That antiquity of Poſſeſſion was a good Title for precedencie: And that in a well regulated Conſtitution all Innovations were of dangerous conſequence:

quence: After all, that it was not a time then to diſpute of ſuch matters, and that they would incur the malediction of the Church, according to the Popes Breif touching the celebration of the Chapter, if they diſcours'd of any other matters, then what concern'd the general good of Chriſtendom.

The *Spaniards* and their accomplices often interrupted *Aubuſſon*, and endeavour'd to carry by force, what they could not obtain by juſtice. But finding at length that the *French* party was the ſtrongeſt, and that they were not all hearkn'd to, they flung out of the Aſſembly, and afterwards departed the Town, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Grand-Maſter: ſo that this Affair, which, as the *Spaniards* pretended ſo much imported the publick tranquility, was but a trick to divide and break up the Aſſembly.

But the Commander *D' Aubuſſon* had another occaſion to ſtand up for the honour of *France* while he defended his own. The news being brought

brought to the Grand-Maſter that *Mahomet* was equipping out a great Fleet, and that the Turks might attacque the Iſland of *Rhodes*; the Knight *Villemarin* a *Spaniard*, and a perſon of merit, but ambitious, and naturally turbulent, propos'd in Council with much heat, that he might immediately give order for all things neceſſary for the defence of the City, and made a large recital of what was needful, with all the marks of a ſedulous care. *Aubuſſon* who was Caſtellaine of the City, and who beſides that, exercis'd the Command of Captain General in the abſence of the Marſhal of the Order, fearing leaſt *Villamarin*, whoſe haughty and daring humour he knew, ſhould uſurp the charge of Captain General, anſwer'd him ſternly, that there was no want of power; that he might ſet himſelf at reſt for that; and that he had nothing to do to intrude himſelf upon thoſe duties that did not belong to him: That it was the Captain General who was to take care for the ſecurity of the City: That that

employ-

employment anciently belong'd to the *Auvergnon* Tongue, and that the *Spaniſh* Language had nothing to do with it.

Villemarin made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to his reaſons, and gave no reply at that time, either to conceal his deſign, or to give himſelf time to conſider what he had to do. But the next day, having conſulted the Knights of his own Nation, which were return'd to *Rhodes*, whoſe behaviour the Grand-Maſter had alſo pardon'd, he appear'd at the head of them in Council, and with an affected Air of modeſty, ſaid, that the *Spaniſh* Language did not pretend to the charge of Captain General; but that he, and all the reſt of the Nation deſir'd that they might have the opportunity to perform their duties to the utmoſt of their power, as well as the *French*. *Aubuſſon*, who ſaw that this manner of proceeding, was only a meer fetch, and that the *Spaniards*, under pretence of demanding the exerciſe of their duty, had a deſign upon the Command it ſelf, repli'd

pli'd with more ſternneſs and vigour then before, that the charge of Captain General was annexed to the dignity of Marſhal of the Order; that only belong'd to the *Auvergnian* Language, of whom the Marſhal was the chief, to do the duties of it; and that *Spain* had nothing to do to meddle with *France* as to that particular. The Council adjudg'd that *Villemarin*'s warineſs was without any ground; and the Affair was decreed in favour of the *French*, to the diſgrace of the *Spaniards*, who in vain proteſted againſt all that was done, in regard that their Proteſts could not be Regiſter'd.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which *France* had in theſe Conteſts, that hinder'd not, but that *Peter Raymund Zacoſta*, a *Caſtillian*, was choſen Grand-Maſter, in the room of *James de Milli*, who dy'd at that time; the *Spaniards* were alſo divided into two Languages, the one *Arragonian*, the other *Caſtillian*; in favour of the latter of which, there was a new Dignity created under the

Title

Title of Chancellor of the Order. Yet neither the credit which the *Spaniards* had with the new Grand-Maſter, nor the animoſities which they had conceiv'd againſt the *French* could hinder, but that the Commander *Aubuſſon* had alwaies his ſhare in the management of Affairs, and was highly honour'd by the Chapter General which was held at *Rome*.

To underſtand this part of the Hiſtory, it is convenient to relate the reaſon which oblig'd the Grand-Maſter to paſs into *Italy*, with the principal Knights, at a time when it was thought that they ought not to have been abſent.

The Negotiation of the Embaſſador which *Mahomet* ſent to *Rome*, to treat of peace, or rather to lull the Knights aſleep while his Arms were employ'd in other places, having not taken effect, the Grand-Maſter thought it convenient to lay up a bank for the War, and began to levy the Tax which had been impos'd upon all the Eſtates of the Order.

The

The moſt part of the abſent Commanders, who lead lives irregular enough, and for whom great Revenues were not large enough to maintain their luxury, refus'd to pay that which was their due. However, to excuſe themſelves in ſome meaſure, they cry'd out that the Tax was too high, that *Zacoſta* ſought only to ruine them, and enrich himſelf; and that his Government grew every day more and more tyrannical. They alſo did him ill offices to the Princes which they found enclin'd to hear them. The *Italians* and *French* did all they could to animate againſt him the Duke of *Venice* and the King of *Naples*; but the *Spaniards* render'd him altogether odious to the King of *Arragon*, already provok'd for that the Council of *Rhodes* had tak'n from an *Arragonois* the Commandery, of *Empoſta*, to put *Zacoſta* in his room. That Prince, who was one of the Greateſt of his time, and who wanted not for credit at *Rome*, inform'd the Pope of all, and advis'd him to ſend for the Grand Maſter, and to

examine how he had carry'd himself. The Pope believ'd the King of *Arragon*, but to save in some measure the honour of the party accus'd, he order'd the General Chapter, which should have been held at *Rhodes*, to be held at *Rome*, where the affairs of the Order might be better consulted then in any other place. *Zacosta*, who was ignorant of the evil designs of his enemies, blindly obeys the Orders of the Pope, and his innocency seem'd to afford him strength to undergo the toil of a Voyage in the extremity of old age.

In this famous Assembly it was, wherein *Paul* the second presided in Person, that the Commander *D' Aubusson* was highly preferr'd. For besides that at the opening of the Chapter, he was chosen for one of the Procurators of the Treasury, he was one of the sixteen Knights that were afterwards elected, and who according to the Statutes of the Order, had a joint power to look after the most important affairs.

But his principal business was to justi-

juſtifie the innocence of the Grand Maſter *Zacoſta*; to which purpoſe he ply'd Cardinal *Urſini* and the Arch-Biſhop of *Milan*, who were brought into the Chapter by the Popes order, being perſons in whom the Pope had a great confidence. After he had well inform'd them of the looſe life of the Knights who refus'd to pay the Tax, he eaſily made them underſtand, that the Complaints which they made againſt the Grand Maſter had no other foundation then the diſſoluteneſs of his Enemies. But to remove out of the Popes thoughts all apprehenſions of any tyrannical Government exercis'd by the Grand Maſter, he engag'd ſeveral of the moſt ſober and prudent Knights to give teſtimony to the Pope of the conduct and management of *Zacoſta*.

The Pope was aſham'd that he ſo eaſily believ'd the accuſers of *Zacoſta*; and to make him ſome kind of publick ſatisfaction, he careſs'd him, and ſhew'd him more then ordinary favours before all the world. But as his Holineſs had been inform'd by

Cardinal *Ursini* and the Arch-Bishop of *Milan* of the debauchery of the disobedient Knights, he consulted with the Grand Master how to reduce them to their duty. He also made a speech in Latin to the Knights that were assembled upon the obligation that lay upon them all together, to lead a life not only vertuous and regular, but holy and irreproachable. The zeal of the Pope rais'd up that of the Chapter. They seriously fell to consider what way to take to remedy the disorders that were crept into the Order, and made Laws for the Reformation of Manners, which after they had been examin'd by the sixteen Knights, and some of the Cardinals, were approv'd and confirm'd by the Pope himself.

Aubusson was extreamly rejoic'd that he had not labour'd in vain; but he had not the satisfaction to see the Grand Master himself put the Laws in execution; *Zacosta* dy'd as soon as the Assembly was broke up. The Pope was so much the more aggriev'd at it, because he lookt upon himself

to be in ſome ſort the cauſe of his death; for it was the general report that this journey to *Rome* had ſhorten'd the days of that venerable old man. He was buried with a magnificence extraordinary in the Church of St. *Peter*, before the Chappel of St. *Gregory*. The Marble that was laid over him, ſufficiently teſtifies him to have been illuſtrious in piety, in charity, and in wiſdom; and his Epitaph might have ſerv'd him for an Apology, had he had any need of it after his death.

Baptiſta Urſini, Prior of *Rome*, was elected Grand Maſter, before the Knights were ſeparated. He departed for *Rhodes* preſently after his election, upon information that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary there. When he came there he found the Treaſury waſted, the Fortifications decay'd, good part of the Ammunition ſpent, and all the Inhabitants of the Iſland alarm'd at *Mahomets* preparations. The *Barbarian* puft up with his former Conqueſts, advanc'd every day like a furious Torrent that finds no

reſiſtance, or which becomes more impetuous and rapid by the reſiſtance which it meets with. The death of the generous *Scanderbeg* made him more inſolent then ever; inſomuch, that when he heard the news, he ſaid, that he would now be ſoon Maſter of Chriſtendom, ſince ſhe had loſt her Sword and Buckler.

The firſt ſtep which the Grand Maſter made to remedy theſe diſorders, was to recall all the Knights which the journey to *Rome* had ſcatter'd, or which the pleaſures of *Italy*, or the affairs of the Order hinder'd from returning.

The Commander *Aubuſſon*, who was recall'd by name, came to *Rhodes* at the ſame time that two Gallies were preparing to ſuccour the Iſland of *Negropont*, into which *Mahomet* was enter'd by land with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, by the help of wooden Bridges built upon great Barks in the Streight of Saint *Mark*, while *Baſha Mahomet*, his Favourite, aſſail'd it by Sea with a Navy of two hundred Sail.

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The impatience which *Aubuſſon* had to fight the Infidels, made him eager for employment upon this occaſion. The Grand Maſter had already nam'd the Knight *Cardona* to command the Gallies; ſo that all he could do for *Aubuſſon*, was to give him the Command of a Troop of ſtout men, that were order'd to be the Companions of *Cardona*'s Fortune. When the Gallies were ready, they ſet ſail, and join'd with the *Venetian* Fleet, which the Republick ſent to the relief of *Negropont*. The Fleet appear'd in view of the Iſle when the Barbarians were ready for the aſſault; and *Mahomet*, who ſaw them coming, was not a little troubled. But all that preparation came to nothing, and the Knights were forc'd to lye ſtill, and behold the City taken before their faces, through the cowardice or imprudence of the *Venetians*, who having the Wind and Tide favourable, inſtead of making uſe of the opportunity, ſtopt ſhort, and fell to conſultation, when it was time to act.

The Grand Signior was ſo enrag'd

at the ſuccour which the Order had given to the *Venetians*, and the incurſions which they had made into divers parts of *Turky*, during his being buſied in *Negropont*, that without any farther deliberation he declar'd War againſt them. A Herauld publiſh'd the Declaration by ſound of Trumpet; and *Mahomets* rage went ſo far, that he vow'd in a furious paſſion that he would kill the Grand Maſter with his own hands, and cut to pieces all the Knights that fell into his power.

After a War ſo ſolemnly and outragiouſly declar'd, there was nothing thought upon in *Rhodes* but to make preparations to withſtand the fury of *Mahomet*. They began with a general Aſſembly ſo ſoon as the Gallies were return'd; and *Aubuſſon* was in this Chapter one of the ſixteen Knights who govern'd every thing, as he had been in that of *Rome*. He was alſo one of the Adminiſtrators of the Treaſury, which were elected extraordinarily; for as there was little order in the Treaſury, and for that the Chapter of *Rome* had very much

much exhauſted it, they thought it convenient to truſt the management thereof to ſix Knights of known integrity and ability, giving them an abſolute and independent power as to what concern'd the publick ſtock, without obliging them to give any account to the Grand Maſter, or the Council.

But beſides thoſe advantages which *Aubuſſon* had common with the reſt of the Knights, he was alſo honour'd in particular with a new dignity. The *Auvergnian* language repreſented to the Council, that in regard they had a great number of Knights that faithfully ſerv'd the Order, and few dignities that depended upon the Council, they demanded for a recompence of their ſervice, that they might have beſtow'd upon them ſome particular juriſdiction, as other languages had, that were leſs ancient and leſs numerous. The requeſt ſeem'd but reaſonable, ſo that the Chapter in favour of them made a new Capital Juriſdiction; they gave them authority to aſſign a Commandery for the revenue

venue of the Charge, and declar'd at the ſame time, that the Baily whom they ſhould elect, ſhould enjoy his Commandery in the ſame manner as other Bailies; that is to ſay, that he ſhould enjoy all the prerogatives and pre eminencies that are appropriated to Capital Juriſdictions and Commanderies. They annex'd the Commandery of *Luteil* to the new Bailywick, and after that *Aubuſſon* was elected Baily, as he that was adjudg'd fitteſt for the dignity.

The firſt time that *Aubuſſon* took his place in Council as Baily, he ſpoke for *Charlotte de Luſignan* Queen of *Cyprus*. For that unfortunate Princeſs, whom the Rebellion of her Subjects had reduc'd almoſt to utmoſt extremity, could find no Sanctuary but *Rhodes*, after the ruine of her affairs. There ſhe ſtay'd for ſome time, and was entertain'd at the expences of the Order.

But in regard her ill fortune had not broken her courage, ſhe reſolv'd upon a journey to *Rome*, to deſire aid of the Pope againſt her rebellious Sub-

Subjects, or at leaſt to oblige him to thunder out againſt them the Anathema's of the Church. And that which made her abſolutely determine upon that courſe, was the conveniency of the *French* Gallies then in the Port of *Rhodes*, which were ſuddenly to ſet ſail for *Naples*. But in regard ſhe was very poor, and had not wherewithall to defray the expences of her journey, ſhe deſir'd thoſe Knights who ſeem'd to have moſt compaſſion and kindneſs for her, to ſpeak to the Grand Maſter to ſupply her with what was neceſſary to carry her into *Italy*.

The Baily *Aubuſſon* was very much troubled for the misfortunes of the Queen, and eſpous'd her intereſt. He wiſh'd with all his heart, that the condition of the affairs of *Rhodes* would have permitted the Knights to have reſtor'd her to her Throne, nor were there any dangers to which he would not have expos'd himſelf to ſerve her. But becauſe there was no likelihood of undertaking any thing abroad, while the Order was in ſo much

much danger at home; he only repreſented, that ſince the Knights of St. *John* were not in a condition to reſtore a Queen diſpoil'd of her Kingdom, that had put her ſelf under their protection, that they would at leaſt relieve a Queen in neceſſity, who did as it were crave their Alms. That it was true, that the Treaſury was not over rich, and that Mony was a precious thing in caſe of a Siege, but that there were certain occaſions, wherein decency, generoſity, charity and juſtice were to prevail above ordinary prudence; and that after all was done, that the Springs of Providence were inexhauſtible, and that Heaven was never wont to fail them that inconvenienc'd themſelves to relieve the miſerable. He ſpoke with ſo much earneſtneſs, and with ſuch a lively and encouraging Air, that the Council order'd, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Knights, either wanting generoſity, or over-prudent, that the Queen of *Cyprus* ſhould be plentifully furniſh'd with all things neceſſary for her Voyage.

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The Baily *D' Aubuſſon* was order'd himſelf, as one of the Managers of the Treaſury, to give her what Money he ſhould think fit; and he ſo well acquitted himſelf, that the Queen had no occaſion to complain.

But to return to the preparations for War, though the *Venetian* found the *Turk* employment ſufficient in *Dalmatia*; and that the Alliance which the *Venetians* had made with *Uſſumcaſſan* King of *Perſia*, after the taking of *Negropont*, had ſomewhat diſcompos'd the deſigns of *Mahomet*, however the Knights were careful to ſtand upon their Guard; and becauſe the Walls were either ruin'd or weak in ſome places, they labour'd continually in the repair of them, giving to Baily *Aubuſſon* the charge of looking after the Fortifications of the City. He had apply'd himſelf in his youth to that Military Science, wherein betimes he became ſo expert that the moſt able Ingineers could teach him nothing. He was not content only to repair the breaches, but he added ſomething new to the ancient Works.

Works. He caus'd the Moats to be made wider and broader; but becauſe it was nois'd about, that *Mahomet* was preparing his Galleys againſt the Knights of St. *John*, and that the *Turkiſh* Army which had rais'd their Siege from before *Scutari*, might well come to *Rhodes*, the Council thought it neceſſary for fear of being ſurpriz'd, to plant their Cannon round the Walls of the City; which was alſo entruſted to *Aubuſſon*'s care, who brought out all the great Guns and planted them upon the Walls and Ramparts, wherever occaſion requir'd.

He was then Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, having ſucceeded a little before to the Chevalier *Cottet*, who dy'd about that time; and ſurrender'd his Bailywick to the Knight *de Rillac*.

But while they were thus preparing to receive the *Ottoman* Army, the Grand Maſter *Baptiſta Urſini* dy'd alſo; the loſs of whom might have ruin'd *Rhodes*, had it not been repair'd with advantage. For in ſhort, it was *Aubuſſon* himſelf whom the Knights

Knights aſſembl'd choſe for Grand Maſter, *Anno* 1476. Never was Election more regular, nor with leſs diſturbance then that. It was made according to all the forms which the Statute preſcribes; and the ſixteen Electors whom the Aſſembly choſe out of the whole number of Languages, to elect whom they ſhould think moſt capable of the ſupreme power, gave their ſuffrages with one conſent for *Peter D' Aubuſſon* Grand Prior of *Auvergne*.

At the name of *Aubuſſon*, the whole Aſſembly with redoubl'd ſhouts and acclamations teſtify'd their unparallel'd joy. He only was ſorry when he heard himſelf nam'd, and at firſt he refus'd a Command of which he did not think himſelf worthy. But I know not by what inward motive, which afterward prevail'd, he was forc'd to accept it, almoſt againſt his own will. Yet could he not refrain from tears, when according to the cuſtom, he was carry'd in his Seat to the Great Altar upon the Shoulders of the principal Commanders.

ders. There it was that confeſſing his weakneſs to ſuſtain ſo great a burthen, he receiv'd the ſubmiſſions of the Knights, after he had ſolemnly ſworn upon the Evangeliſts to obſerve the Statutes of the Order.

The news of this Election was no ſooner ſpread over the Iſland, but the people made Bonfires, and teſtify'd all the ſigns of publick joy. This caus'd every body to hope for a happy Government; neither was *Mahomet* ſo much fear'd, when they underſtood that the Grand Prior of *Auvergne* had the Authority in his hands.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Second.

SO ſoon as the Grand Maſter was acknowledg'd in *Rhodes*, his firſt care was to render to Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth that Obedience which is due from the Chief of an Order wholly devoted to the Sacred See.

To that purpoſe he held a Council the next day after his Election, and nominated the Prior of *Lombardy*,

together with the Prior of *Rome*, for that Embassy.

Then he apply'd all his thoughts to the Government of a Dominion of which he had taken possession. And not to loose time, he began at the very first to act as Grand Master.

Though the *Ottoman* Army were as yet far enough from *Rhodes*, nevertheless the Island was not a little infested by the incursions of the *Barbarians*. The Pyrats, who landed day and night in several parts, pillaged the Cities, burnt the Houses, massacred and carried away many of the Christians.

The Grand Master thought it convenient to put a stop to these disorders that so sensibly afflicted him, and for that purpose to build upon the Coast at such & such distances, several Forts and Towers to hinder the landing of the Pyrats. But because this design requir'd a great sum of Money, and that these Pyracies had very much exhausted the Grand Masters Revenue, he ordain'd for the raising those works, that all those Knights who

who obtain'd Commanderies by favour only, ſhould pay the value of the firſt years Revenue to the Order, ſo ſoon as they receiv'd their Commiſſions, without which payment the Donation ſhould be void.

The Grand Maſter alſo took in hand again, and went on with all thoſe works which were diſcontinu'd by the death of the Grand Maſter. More eſpecially he forwarded the new Wall of the Arſenal, and took upon himſelf the charge of looking after it. But in regard it was of high importance to look after the ſecurity of the Port, he order'd the Grand Prior of St. *Gilles* to provide a Chain to ſhut it up. He alſo at the ſame time gave order to the Chevalier *Raymond*, who commanded in the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, to widen the Mote ſo far for the Sea to fill it, that the *Brigantines* of the Caſtle might ride there ſecure from Enemies and Tempeſts.

The Caſtle St. *Peter*, which we ſhall have often an occaſion to mention, was a ſtrong place, ſcituated in *Cana*,

between two Arms of the Sea, which form'd a Peninſula, built upon the ruines of the ancient City *Halicarnaſſus*, near the place where was formerly the Sepulcher of *Mauſolus*, ſo famous for the love and grief of *Artemiſia*. The Order of St. *John* is beholding for that Fortreſs to the prudence and valour of one of the *French* Grand Maſters. For *Philibert* of *Nailac*, Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*, deſirous to make his beſt advantage of the conſternation of the Infidels, after the Battel wherein *Tamerlain* had taken *Bajazet* Priſoner, fitted out the Gallies of the Order, and ſailed directly for *Caria* with the choiceſt Knights of the Order. He took a Caſtle there from the *Turks*, the ſcituation whereof ſeem'd to him to be of ſo much advantage, that he built in the ſame place another almoſt impregnable, which he call'd the Caſtle of St. *Peter*. This place it was which in the midſt of the *Turks* Dominions ſerv'd as a Sanctuary for the poor Chriſtian Slaves that can get away from their Maſters. And here it was,

if

if we may believe the Writers of that age, that certain Dogs, of a particular breed, who by a ſtrange inſtinct of nature, watch'd all the night long; and would fly upon the *Turks*, and fawn upon the Chriſtians, as if they had known the one from the other.

Among all the Knights which the Grand Maſter employ'd according to the variety of occurrences, and which were always neareſt his perſon, there was not one in whom he put more confidence then in *Charles de Montholon*. He was a perſon of a very good judgment, and one that bare the character of being fierce in fight, temperate in counſel, and one that had a genius capable of every thing. This Knight acquitted himſelf of ſeveral Truſts that were put upon him for the defence of the City; and he it was that had the charge of fortifying St. *Nicholas Fort*.

While the Grand Maſter iſſued out his orders, and labour'd himſelf to have all things in readineſs to ſuſtain a Siege. *Antonio Loredano*, General of the *Venetian* Fleet in the Iſland of

Cyprus, underſtanding that *Riccio de Marino*, a *Cipriot* by birth, and a perſon born for intrigue, and one of the moſt zealous Servitors of *Charlote de Luſignan*, negotiated at *Rhodes* to the prejudice of *Katharine Carnara*, he ſent an Ambaſſador to complain in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, for that the Knights did entertain thoſe that were Rebels to the Republick.

It is impoſſible to underſtand the grounds of that Embaſſy, nor the anſwer of the Grand Maſter, without being inform'd beforehand of the Claims of thoſe two Princeſſes to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and wherefore the Republick took *Katharine*'s part, and oppos'd *Charlota*.

John de Luſignan King of *Cyprus*, one of the weakeſt and moſt effeminate Princes that ever ſway'd a Scepter, had only one natural Son, who was nam'd *James de Luſignan*, when he eſpous'd his Second Wife *Helena*, of the Houſe of the *Paleologi*, and Daughter of the Deſpote of *Moria*. By this ſecond Wife he had a Daughter

ter nam'd *Charlote*, who was married to *John* of *Portugal*, Duke of *Conimbria*. This Prince, who had both wit and courage, being at the Court of *Cyprus*, eaſily wound himſelf into the management of affairs, and depriv'd the Queen of all that authority which the weakneſs of the King had permitted her to uſe.

The Queens Nurſe, who govern'd all things before the marriage of the Princeſs *Charlota*, and was afterwards in little eſteem, reveng'd the Queen's and her own diſgrace, by poyſoning the Duke of *Conimbria*. She had a Son whom ſhe paſſionately lov'd, and whom during her grandeur, ſhe had made a kind of abſolute Miniſter of State. The death of the Prince reſtor'd to the Mother and the Son the authority which they had loſt. But as perſons of mean Birth uſually forget themſelves, when rais'd above themſelves, the inſolence of the one and the other was ſo exceſſive, that they us'd the Dutcheſs moſt contemptuouſly.

Charlota deeply reſented both the

death of her Husband, and the ſcorns put upon her when ſhe was a Widow. She complain'd to her Brother *James de Luſignan*, and her Complaints were not in vain; for this natural Son of the King, equally cruel and ambitious, kill'd with his own hand the Nurſes Son, not ſo much to ſatisfie his Siſter, as to govern in his room, and to open to himſelf by that means a way to the Throne. The Queen, who tenderly lov'd her Nurſe, could not be brought to pardon *James* whom ſhe mortally hated beſides; ſo that to avoid the anger of a Woman, a Queen, and a Mother-in-Law, he was forc'd to conceal himſelf in the *Venetian* Conſuls Houſe, and at length to quit the Kingdom.

In the mean while the Dutcheſs of *Conimbria*, who was in the flower of her age, and in the full ſplendor of her beauty, was remarried with *Lewis* Son to the Duke of *Savoy*. Soon after this marriage the King and the Queen dy'd. The King by his Will declar'd *Charlota* his only Heir. But the natural Son, whom ambition blinded,

ed, had no regard either to the Laws of Nature, or the laſt words of a dying Prince. He made War upon his Siſter and his Brother-in-Law, by the aſſiſtance of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who rather choſe to have a *Grecian* Prince his Tributary, then any other. *Marc Cornaro*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who liv'd at *Nicoſſa*, and was very rich, did not a little help the *Baſtard* to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſle, and uſurp the Crown. The Uſurper therefore, to acknowledge his ſervices, and to fix the *Venetians* at the ſame time to his intereſts, eſpouſed *Katharine* the Daughter of *Carnaro*, after the Commonwealth had adopted her. But this new Dominion was too unjuſt to endure long or happy. The Uncles of *Katharine*, who ſhar'd in the Government, poyſon'd the King of *Cyprus*, with a deſign to raign themſelves. And it was in favour of his Widow that *Michael Salamon* came to *Rhodes* on the behalf of General *Loredano*, who was gone to *Cyprus* to reſtore *Katharine* to the poſſeſſion of her Kingdom.

The

The *Venetian* Ambassadors deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master from the Duke of *Venice* full of reproaching and menacing Language. Afterwards he himself declar'd with much haughtiness, that since the Common-wealth had adopted *Katharine Cornara*, that it was an injury done to the *Venetians*, to favour Rebels that caball'd against a Daughter of St. *Mark*, and their lawful Queen.

So proud and surly an Embassy, no way pleas'd the Grand Master; however he thought it not convenient to provoke the *Venetians* by too severe an answer, at a time when the order had their hands full. Nor could he stoop to qualify them with an answer too much beneath himself. And therefore he answer'd with a Gentility and sowreness mix'd both together, that the Knights of St. *John* neither meddl'd with the differences in the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, nor would they suffer any Traitors in *Rhodes*; but that the Island being a free Island, they

they denied admittance to no Chriſtians who deſir'd to live among them like Chriſtians.

Salamon, was not ſatisfy'd with the Grand Maſters anſwer; and *Loredano* leſs. He thought his own preſence would do more then his Embaſſador; for which reaſon he haſtens away to *Rhodes*. When his Gallies enter'd the Port, the Maſter ſent four of the Grand Croſſes to congratulate his arrival, and to preſent him with all ſorts of freſh Victuals; but being informed of the occaſion of his coming, he ſent to tell him plainly, that he could make him no other anſwer, then what he had already given him. That conciſe Declaration, caus'd the General to underſtand that his Voyage was loſt: ſo that without conſidering any farther with himſelf, or ſo much as ſetting foot aſhore, he return'd with all the choler that could inſpire a fierce and daring perſon, for having tak'n ſo much pains ſo little to the purpoſe.

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The haughtineſs of the *Venetians* was not the only cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of their Embaſſie. The kindneſs which the Grand Maſter had for *Charlota de Luſignan*, had a deep ſhare therein. Though the Knights of St. *John*, had never openly declar'd for *Katherine Cornara*, nor were willing to conteſt with the *Venetians*, about their affair: certain it is, that in their hearts they were all for *Charlota de Luſignan*; whether it were that they were ſatisfy'd in the Juſtice of her cauſe; or that the compaſſion which they took upon her misfortunes, caus'd them to embrace her intereſts; or whether it were, that the moſt of them were taken with the Charms of her beauty. They had ſeen her ſeveral times at *Rhodes*, ſhe was as yet young enough; for her misfortunes had not defac'd her beauty, nor depriv'd her of her natural gayity of humour. She ſpoke very pleaſingly, and readily, according to the natural Genius of the *Greeks*; ſhe dreſt her ſelf

ſelf after the *French* mode, and her diſpoſition, her air, and manners plainly ſhewed her to be of Royal Extraction.

The Grand Maſter had always admir'd in the perſon of *Charlota*, beſides the graces of her body and mind, a prudence that exceeded age, and a conſtancy above all her ſex. But the chiefeſt motive was, that ſhe had put her ſelf under the protection of the Knights; and for that ſhe had already receiv'd all the aſſiſting kindneſſes that ſhe could in reaſon expect. Her acknowledgment alſo oblig'd them to ſhew her new marks of their eſteem and affection. For ſhe publickly declared that ſhe had been more oblig'd to the Knights of *Rhodes*, then to all her neareſt Relations: and becauſe the Commonwealth had adopted herEnemy,ſhe was wont pleaſently to ſay,that if *Katharine Cornara*, were the Daughter of St. *Mark* of *Venice*, *Charlota de Luſignan* was the Daughter of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem.*

But

But perhaps the great eſteem they had for *Lewis* of *Savoy*, her huſband contributed more then any other reaſon, to make the Grand Maſter and Knights favourable to her intereſts. They were all perſwaded that the order of St. *John* were beholding for their preſervation to the houſe of *Savoy*: and it was a common opinion among them, that *Amadeus* the fifth, ſurnam'd the Great, coming to the relief of *Rhodes*, and having conſtrain'd *Ottoman* to raiſe his Seige, took for his impreſs theſe four Letters; F. E. R. T. that is, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, his Fortitude kept *Rhodes*. And that in his arms he chang'd the Eagle of *Savoy* into the Croſs of the Order, to let all the World know his devotion to the ſervice of the Knights, immortalizing the memory of an action that had been ſo ſerviceable to them. Nevertheleſs the whole Story is but a Fable without foundation or probability. For the deviſe, *Lewis of Savoy*, *Baron de Vaud*, who dy'd in the year 1301, ſtamp'd it

it upon his money, ten years before the Seige of *Rhodes*. And in the Cathedral Church of *Agoſta*, upon the Sepulcher of *Thomas de Savoy*, the ſecond of that name, there is ſtill to be ſeen, a Dog lying at his feet, with this word engraven upon his collar, *FERT*, in *Gotthick* Letters, without any points, or ſeparation of Letters. As for the Croſs, the predeceſſors of *Amadeus* the fifth, carryed it inſtead of the Eagle, either as Earls of *Piemont*, the Arms whereof were the Eagle. Or in imitation of *Amadeus* the third, Earl of *Savoy*, who took the Croſs upon him in the year 1147, and kept it at his return from *Paleſtine*, as a teſtimony of his expedition beyond the Seas. *Amadeus* the great alſo wore it himſelf in the year 1304. when he appear'd at the Treaty which he made with *Stephen Coligny*, Lord of *Andelot*. But though the Story of *Amadeus* be falſe in all the circumſtances, it paſs'd for Currant at *Rhodes*, as well as in other places. And therefore it is no wonder, if the Grand Maſter

Maſter led by the Popular error reſpected *Amadeus* in *Lewis*, *Charlota's* Husband, beyond either *Katharina Cornara*, or the *Venetians*.

The Propoſal which the ſub-Baſha of *Pizzonne* Governour of *Lycia* made to the Grand Maſter was heard more favourably then that of the Duke of *Venice*. There were at that time ſeveral Knights, and many ſubjects of the order, Slaves to the *Turks*. Theſe *Barbarians*, in whom ſometimes covetouſneſs ſerves as a Counterpoiſe to cruelty, had a deſire to get Mony, and the *Sub-Baſha* ſent to *Rhodes*, a Merchant call'd *Cachim Brahim*, to traffick for the delivery of the Slaves. The Grand Maſter who ſtood in need of Men, and ſought nothing more then the liberty of ſo many unfortunate Perſons, was ſoon perſwaded to treat with the *Turkiſh* Merchant; and he agreed alſo according to the *Sub-Baſha's* command, that there ſhould be a Truce for a Month between the Order and the Turks, that they might treat without interruption.

During

During this Negotiation, there happen'd one thing very remarkable: one of the *Turks* that belong'd to *Cochim Brahim*, one day offer'd his ſervice to the Grand Maſter, to bring him an accompt from *Conſtantinople* of the deſigns and readineſs of the Ottoman Army; of which they had no certain news for a good while. He promis'd to make all poſſible haſt, and after he had confirm'd his words by moſt terrible Oaths, he ſaid that he could not reſiſt that inward Motion that compell'd him to ſerve the Knights, againſt his Law and his Prince. Though the Grand Maſter did not much rely upon the faith of a perſon who had all the looks of a Traitor, yet he thought it not convenient to refuſe an offer, which if it fail'd, could do no harm. So without confiding in the *Turk*, or making any ſemblance to defy him, he gave him a paſport for his return; and out of hopes that God would be pleas'd to overthrow the deſigns of *Mahomet*, by the means of a *Mahometan*, he ſuffer'd the voluntary ſpy to go where-

ever the Spirit which he ſpake of, conducted him.

But if Heaven on the one ſide ſeem favourable to the Order of St. *John*, on the other ſide, it ſeem'd no leſs incens'd againſt it. For a prodigious Tempeſt aroſe all of a ſudden, when the Sky ſeem'd to be very ſerene. The Rain in an inſtant made an Inundation over all the Countrey; and the wind threw down ſeveral houſes in the City; among the reſt, the Archbiſhops Palace. That which was moſt deplorable, was, that the violence of the Storm ſhook the old Wall of the City, and overturn'd a good part of the new. Had the Enemy then come, *Rhodes* had been loſt; ſo far had he been from finding reſiſtance there, that he had only come to view the Image of a City tak'n and ſack'd. The publick Conſternation made the miſchief more lamentable. The People that are preſently alarum'd by any thing that appears extraordinary, took ſuch a horrible Tempeſt, as a certain preſage of their ruin: and the greatneſs of the danger had certainly caſt them

them into a general deſpair, had not the conſtancy of the Grand Maſter ſupported them.

Scarce was the Tempeſt over, when a Conteſt which the *Greeks* and *Latins* had, about I cannot tell what point of Doctrine, rais'd a Popular Tumult. Of a ſingle deſpute, by degrees they made a real quarrel, which came to blows. And as in quarrels about Religion, every one is apt to call his particular tranſportment a piece of merit, their Animoſity and fury one againſt another wax'd ſo hot, that ſeveral had been kill'd upon the place, had not the Grand Maſter made uſe of all his policy and authority to appeaſe the Tumult. He did not content himſelf to make both parties lay down their Arms; and to puniſh the moſt culpable, to keep the reſt within the bounds of their duty; but he reſolv'd to pull up the Root of the Sedition; and becauſe the difference was about Religion, he engag'd the Arch-Biſhop of *Rhodes*, and the Metropolitan of the *Greeks* to make a Reconciliation.

A pacification being thus made, and the walls of the City being almost repair'd; he made a visitation through the Island, to view himself, and to give order for the Fortification of those places that had need of defence. Having spent a whole month in this Visitation, at his return he found the *Greek* Spy, who inform'd him that the Infidels made very great preparations, that their Fleet was to set sale with the first Wind from the streight of *Gallipoli*, and that it was certainly confirm'd at *Constantinople*, that the great *Turk* would set upon the Knights of St. *John*.

The Grand Master well know that it was one of the maximes of the *Turkish* policy to give out false reports, the better to conceal the true design. That it was their custom to keep an Enemy in suspence for several years, to the end he might exhaust himself with continual and needless preparations; that they came upon their Enemies, when they were weary of expecting them, and thought no more of them. But on the other side

ſide he was not ignorant that they did not always obſerve the ſame rules, nor the ſame method in War; but that it was one of their Stratagems to divulge the expedition which they intended, that people ſhould not believe it; or that it was deſign'd at a diſtance, and in the mean time to uſe all diligence imaginable to prevent the reſiſtance and proviſion of the Enemy. And therefore he thought it the ſecureſt way to neglect nothing, and to provide againſt a ſiege, as if the intelligence of the Spy had been unqueſtionable.

After he had taken upon him the charge of Captain General of *Rhodes*, which the Council beſought him to accept, he choſe out for the defence of the City four Captains of aſſiſtance, as they were then call'd, and aſſign'd to every one their duty and their Poſt. Beſides the Knights which he had already ſent to *Lango*, he ſent with the Title of Captain of aſſiſtance the Knight *Grimaldi* with the ſame Commiſſion for the Caſtle of St.

Peter, which the Lieutenant of the Baily of *Germany* was to viſit by his order.

In the mean time Intelligence came that the Fleet of the *Barbarians* had ſet ſail out of the Streight to the number of two hundred Gallies, that they were then at the Iſland of *Scio*, and would ſoon be at *Rhodes*. This News made the Grand Maſter give order, that all the Country people ſhould retire into the Forts, and that no perſon ſhould ſtir forth, till the Light-Horſe appointed for the Guard of the Iſland, had viſited the Coaſts, and and all places where the *Turks* could lye in Ambuſcado. He order'd alſo that all Strangers and Vagabonds that were in *Rhodes* ſhould be all enroll'd; and that the Knight *Friqueroly* ſhould command them. That all Veſſels that were in port ſhould be ſtay'd, and that they ſhould be furniſh'd with all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance.

He ſent at the ſame time a Brigantine to *Scio* to obſerve the Enemies Fleet, and he underſtood that the Infi-

Infidels had in vain attempted the taking of *Stalimene*, where they had put all to fire and Sword; that from thence they ſayl'd to *Scio*, where they had had no better ſucceſs, but had made the ſame havock: that from thence they were fall'n into *Lango*. From whence, after they had waſted the whole Countrey, they were gone to *Patmos*, with a deſign upon the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, and thence to return to *Rhodes*: but underſtanding that the grand Maſter had put thoſe Forts into a good condition, they had ſteer'd another courſe, and after they had comitted ſome ſpoil at *Naxi*, they were return'd at length to *Conſtantinople*.

This Intelligence ſomewhat enliven'd the *Rhodians*, however it did nothing ſlak'n the Induſtry and Vigilance of the Grand Maſter. He knew the tricks of the Infidels, and it was one of his Maximes, that it was equally dangerous to be lull'd aſleep upon good news; as to be alarum'd at bad. Moreover, he was

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advertiz'd by his Spies, that the *Turk* was abſolutely reſolv'd to beſiege *Rhodes*; that that expedition was deferr'd till the next year, and that *Mahomet* would command in Perſon. How untrue ſoever this intelligence might be, the Grand Maſter made his beſt advantage of it.

As the hope of relief inſpires both conſolation and courage during a Siege, he order'd the Knight *Cardona*, Baily of *Marjorca*, who was gone into *Catalonia* and *Arragon*, to put in execution the orders of the laſt Chapter touching the new Taxes, to levy men, and to buy all ſorts of Ammunition and proviſions, to ſend them away with all ſpeed, and to agree with the Maſters, ſo that they ſhould be oblig'd to enter the Port, though the City ſhould be beſieg'd.

But becauſe that many of the Knights were abroad, and that the Council was reſolv'd to hold a General Chapter to provide for the preſent neceſſities, the Grand Maſter wrote to all the Priors a Circulary or Letter, the Original whereof is ſtill preſerv'd among the

the Records of *Malta*; wherein he laid before them the great neceſſity of their aſſembling altogether, the near approach of the Enemy, his power, the goodneſs of his Souldiers, and his determin'd reſolution to ruin the Order of St. *John*. Then he beſought them to lay thoſe things to heart, and conſider the dangers that environ'd them, and that it concern'd their ſafety and their honour, not to prefer the pleaſures of this world before the defence of all Chriſtendom.

After he had ſent away this Letter, he repreſented very earneſtly to the Council, that for the preſervation of the people of *Rhodes*, it was neceſſary to repair, and regularly to fortify the Caſtle of *Caravia*, which fell to ruin. He gave them to underſtand that the Countrey where this Caſtle was built, wanted Inhabitants, becauſe the Countrey people were forc'd to retire to the moſt remote places; and that it would in time be quite diſpeopl'd, though that part were the moſt pleaſant and fertile of all. He added that

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that Countrey was not to be quitted nor left desert, but that the whole Island would suffer very much; and that to avoid those Inconveniencies, he thought it very necessary to reinforce that place, so that it might be defended, and serve as a Retreat for the Countrey people like the other Fortresses. The proposal of the Grand Master was approv'd by all the Council, and for the more speedy putting it in execution, it was resolv'd at the same time, that a years revenue of the Office of the Grand Mastery, vacant by the death of the Grand Master, *Baptista Ursini*, which was put into the Treasury, should be employed upon that necessary use.

And in regard the last Chapter had order'd the making new Walls and Bastions about the Castle of *Rhodes*, the Grand Master caus'd some of the Money that came from *France* to be paid out for that purpose.

Lewis the Eleventh, who succeeded his Father *Charles* the Seventh, and who when he was only *Dolphin*, had honour'd the Grand Master with his

his particular favours, forgot him not when he came to the Crown. He was inform'd in general of the condition of the affairs of the *Levant* by the Knight *D'Ambroſe*, who was ſent to receive the Money in the Priories of *France* and *Champaign*, which was due to the Order. But he was fully inform'd by the Chevalier *Blanchfort*, who came a little while after to preſent to his Majeſty a Leopard, and two Falcons of a rare breed. The affection which he bore to the Grand Maſter, made him take thoſe courſes for the relief of the Knights, which perhaps he would not have done through any motion of zeal. That Prince requeſted of Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, a Jubilee for all thoſe perſons in his Kingdom that would aſſiſt the *Rhodians*. He obtain'd that which he demanded, provided that all the Money that ſhould be collected from the charity of the faithful, ſhould be employ'd for no other uſe then for the defence of *Rhodes*; nor can it be ſaid how much this Jubilee advantag'd the Order.

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The affairs of *Rhodes* being thus ſettl'd at home, he began to rekindle the feud which was between *Turks* and *Saracens*; and having brok'n with the one, he omitted nothing, with the Pope's permiſſion, to league himſelf with the other. His management was ſo ſucceſsful, that the *Saracens* themſelves further'd it as much as in them lay. The *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who fearing the Arms of *Mahomet*, ſent to *Rhodes* his Favourite, *Dovan Diodar*, to renew the Peace with the Knights. After ſome conferences between the *Saracens* and the Grand Maſter, the Ratification was made: and the principal Articles of the Treaty were, that the Order ſhould not ſet forth any Ships or Veſſels to annoy either by Land or Sea the Subjects of the *Soldan*. That they ſhould not permit them to joyn or aſſiſt with Souldiers, Pilots, or Guides, any forreign Rovers againſt the *Soldan*'s intereſt. On the other ſide, that the *Soldan* ſhould attempt nothing to the prejudice of the Knights: and that if they were aſ-

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ſail'd by their enemies, the *Soldan* ſhould be oblig'd to aſſiſt and defend them. That the Veſſels of the Order ſailing through the *Soldan*'s Dominions for the *Holy Land*, ſhould pay no duties, and that they ſhould be under his protection as friends. Laſtly, that when the Chriſtian Slaves at *Cairo* ſhould be freed by their Maſters, they ſhould have liberty to return home; and that for thoſe other Chriſtian Slaves that were not affranchiz'd, they ſhould be exchang'd for ſuch other *Moors* that were Slaves, giving a *Moor* for a Chriſtian.

In regard the King of *Tunis* ſeem'd leſs enclin'd to an Accommodation then the *Soldan*, either out of his barbarous haughtineſs that made him deſpiſe the friendſhip of the Chriſtians, or out of juſt reſentment of the injuries which the *Mooriſh* Merchants pretended to have received from the Knights, the Grand Maſter did not think it any derogation from his dignity, to make the firſt propoſal for the intereſt of the Faith. The Knight

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Lamant had therefore order to go to *Tunis*, who understood so well how to govern the *African* Prince, that a Peace was concluded in a few days. There was a Truce agreed upon for one and thirty years between the *Moors* and the Knights. And the Articles little different from those made with the *Soldan*, were sent to *Rhodes* for the Grand Master to sign. But there was this one Article particular, that the Knights, when they pleas'd, might have liberty to buy within the Territories of the King of *Tunis*, thirty thousand Comb of Wheat without paying duty, whatever prohibition to the contrary, or whatever scarcity were in the Countrey.

The Grand Master sent back, with the Treaty sign'd, *Jerom Barbo*, one of the most prudent men in *Rhodes* to reside in *Tunis*, as Consul, for the Knights, or rather to observe the carriage and actions of the *Moors*, under pretence of looking after the trade of the *Rhodians*.

The joy which the people had upon these new Alliances, was soon disturb'd

ſturb'd by a general famine in the City and Iſland, occaſion'd by the loſs of certain Barques laden with Corn, that were bound for *Rhodes*, of which ſome were caſt away, others taken by the Pyrats. But when their miſery was at the height, and that they began to deſpair of any remedy, by reaſon that the Sea rag'd in that manner, that no Veſſels durſt ſtir out, a Caravel was driven into the Port by ſtreſs of weather, laden with Corn. A relief ſo unexpected ſeem'd to be a kind of miracle. But becauſe that the Corn which the Caravel brought was not ſufficient, the Grand Maſter gave order to the Captain of the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, to give Paſſports to all Merchants that would bring Corn to *Rhodes*. So that many *Turkiſh* Merchants more regarding their Profit then their Religion, laid hold upon the opportunity to diſpoſe of their Grain, and brought to *Rhodes* ſo great a quantity of Corn, that all the Granaries were ſoon fill'd. Thus the Grand Maſter ſav'd the lives of his people by the means of their enemies,

mis, and that famine which threaten'd the deſolation of the whole Iſland, did but only ſerve to create a greater plenty.

While theſe things paſs'd at *Rhodes*, reports ran at *Conſtantinople* that *Mahomet* was not ſeriouſly bent upon the enterprize againſt *Rhodes*; whether it were that he was afraid of any ill ſucceſs, and was loth to hazard any thing after ſo many happy Expeditions, or whether he had any other Conqueſts in his deſigns. But ſome of his Favourites mortal enemies of the Knights of St. *John*, preſt him to lay aſide all other deſigns, and to go on with that of the Siege of *Rhodes*.

There were about him two famous Renegado's, who had rais'd their fortunes by the ſame ways, and reſembled one another very much in wickedneſs, though their Character were different; the one was called *Demetrius*, a *Negropontine*; though he were one of the moſt wicked wretches in the world, he had all the Air of a vertuous man; and never

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Greek knew how to conceal ſuch a vaſt ſtore of perfidiouſneſs under the outward appearances of truth and juſtice. He had a ſubtle wit, ſupple and pliant, every way fit for Negotiation and Intreague. He was alſo very skilful in War, and reſolute upon occaſion: after the taking of *Negropont*, he went to live at *Rhodes*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where having taken the Turbant, he ſo inſinuated himſelf into the great ones of the Court, and gain'd by degrees the favour of *Mahomet*, by giving him an accompt of the ſituation and force of the Iſland. The other Renegado was of *Rhodes* alſo, and was called *Meligale*: This was a man without conſcience or honour, ſtout and bold, but violent and raſh; accuſtom'd from his youth to all ſorts of Crimes, and boaſting in infamous actions. Having ſpent his Eſtate in debauchery, and finding himſelf deep in debt, he could find no other way to recruit himſelf then by renouncing his Religion, and betraying his Countrey. Before he went to the Court

of *Mahomet*, he had more exactly then *Demetrius*, obſerv'd all the Fortifications of *Rhodes*, and had made a Plat-form of them, with an Inventory of the Artillery, and all the Munitions of the place. By that means he got acceſs to *Baſha Miſach Paleologue*, and inſinuate himſelf into to the favour of *Mahomet*.

Theſe two Villaines, who were acquainted an *Rhodes*, enter'd into ſtrict Friendſhip, and conſulted together the deſtruction of the order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. The confidence that *Mahomet* repos'd in them gave them the boldneſs to declare themſelves. However, they did not do it at firſt; they diſcours'd him ſeveral times with the Iſland of *Rhodes*, laying before his eyes the beauty of the Countrey, the temperature of the Air, and the conveniency of the Harbor. After which they repreſented to him ſometimes by word of mouth, and ſometimes by the information which they had given of the Grandees of the Court, that the Knights had uſurp'd ſo fair an Iſland from the

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Muſſel-men that enjoy'd it before, when *Foulk de Velaret*, a *French* man, and Maſter of the Hoſpital of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* ſetled himſelf there, that nothing could be more proper for the Ottoman Emperors, then a place that might facilitate the Conqueſt of *Ægypt* and *Syria*; and laſtly, that the Enterprize was no leſs eaſy then honourable. They told him that there was but little proviſion, and but few Souldiers in *Rhodes*; and ſhewing him the Plat-form of the City, they gave him to underſtand that the Walls of the Caſtle were old and ruinous; that the Jews quarter was the moſt weak, and that when he had won St. *Nicholas* Tower, it would be eaſy to gain the reſt. They added alſo that *Rhodes* being the paſſage to *Italy*, he was not to deſpiſe the Favours of Fortune that offer'd him the Conqueſt of *Rome* as well as of *Conſtantinople*; beſides that, it did not become him to ſuffer a Captain of a Troop of Vagabond Knights, to refuſe to do him that homage which Kings themſelves were forc'd to ſtoop to.

Now as Princes have their ears open to Councils that flatter their ambition, *Mahomet* easily harken'd to the instigations of *Demetrius* and *Meligate*. However, being wise, and knowing that precipitate rashness is the ruin of many great undertakings, he thought it convenient to consult his chief Ministers before he resolv'd upon any thing: Who being of a contrary opinion to that of the Renegado's, did all they could to divert him from the expedition against *Rhodes*. They represented to him, how that the City was newly fortify'd; that Souldiers and Ammunition were brought in every day; That the Grand Master was an extraordinary person, too courageous to yield, and too vigilant to be surpriz'd. They put *Mahomet* in mind, that though the forces of the Knights were not comparable to his, yet he could never take the least Castle from them, with all the Armies which he had sent against them; and that it behov'd him to consider the future by what had pass'd; besides that upon

on the leaſt Motion which he ſhould make that way, all *Europe* and *Aſia* would take Arms in favour of the *Rhodians*. That the Grand Maſter had renew'd an alliance with the *Soldan* of *Ægypt*; and that without any great difficulty, he would be able to make the King of *Perſia* his friend. That the Pope labour'd to unite the Princes of Chriſtendom againſt the *Ottoman* Empire; that all theſe Enemies united in a league together, would not fail to aſſault him in ſeveral places together, and make ſuch a diverſion of his own Forces, that in ſome place or other they would certainly recover to his loſs. They added moreover, that there were other Iſlands to take before *Rhodes*. They ſhew'd him beſides, that the Conqueſt of *Rhodes* would be no addition to his renown; that he might conquer new Empires, but never regain loſt honour, which he hazarded all at once in a dangerous expedition, where he had nothing to win, but where he had ſo much to loſe. At length they con-

cluded all, that the ſafeſt way was by negotiation, and accommodation to engage the Knights to pay him ſome yearly tribute; and thereupon they advis'd him to ſend an Embaſſador to the Grand Maſter to propoſe him Peace upon thoſe conditions. But that they might not offend the Grand Signior in caſe of refuſal, they were of opinion that the Embaſſy ſhould be ſent in the name of *Zizim* his Son, and *Selebi* his Nephew, telling him alſo that ſuch a way of proceeding could not but take effect; or at leaſt that during the negotiation, the Knights would not be ſo ſtrict upon their guards; ſo that under the pretence of treaty, he might ſurprize the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, and facilitate thereby the enterprize upon *Rhodes*, whenever he ſhould determine to undertake it.

Whatever inclinations *Mahomet* might have to follow the counſel of the Renegado's, he ſtuck to the advice of his Miniſters; and it may be ſaid, that at that time he made his ambition give way to his prudence.

They

They made choice of *Demetrius* for the chief in the Embaſſy. That wicked man was eaſily ſatisfied that his opinion was not follow'd, partly for the confidence which they repos'd in him, and partly out of the hopes which he had, that his counſel might afterwards be reſum'd into conſideration, if the negotiation which he had taken upon him, did not produce any good effect. He was entruſted with a Letter to the Grand Maſter, written in Greek, and ſign'd in Turkiſh by the two Princes. The Contents whereof are as follows, conformable to the Original Copy.

TO THE

Thrice Generous, and Thrice Famous Prince, *Peter D'Aubuſſon*, Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*; or, Thrice Honoured Father and Lord.

INtegrity and Valour have ſo many Charms to allure the love of men, of whatſoever Nation or Religion, that it is no wonder if the Princes of the Blood Royal of the Ottomans, *and of the Sect of the Prophet* Mahomet, *have no mean thoughts of friendſhip for you and your Order. We are obliged thereto, and in ſome meaſure forc'd to it, by the Renown which your Heroick Vertues have acquir'd over all the Eaſt. Yet ſome there are who have endeavour'd to render you obnoxious to our Thrice Illuſtrious Emperor. And ſome of his Favourites continually exaſperate him to turn his Victorious Arms againſt you, to aboliſh the Chriſtian Name in your deſtruction. But we far*

far from inſpiring him with any ſuch thoughts, have us'd all our endeavors to avert his formidable Thunder from your Dominions: and we have been ſo ſucceſful therein, that his Highneſs refuſes not to hearken to Peace, willing to receive you into the number of his Allies. Of which we were deſirous to give you information by Demetrius *our Embaſſador, to whom you may give credit. If you will but liſten to the Propoſitions which he ſhall make you on our behalf, as we conjure you to do, we are ready to be our ſelves the Mediators, and the chief Promoters of your quiet. In expectation of your anſwer, we pray the All-powerful Creator of Heaven and Earth to preſerve you in a flouriſhing condition. From the City of* Patara, *the 9th of* February, *in the year of the Birth of your Prophet* Jeſus, 1478.

Your Sons, and good Friend, *ZEM SCELBEI*, Son of the Invincible Emperor *Mahomet*, and *Che-Le-Bi*, Sultan *Sangiach* of *Mandachia*.

Though

Though this Letter were but only a ſnare which the *Sultan* laid for the Grand Maſter, it was ſincere on the Princes ſide that were put upon the affair. For they had both of them a natural affection for the Knights of *Rhodes*, and ſomething of an inclination to the Chriſtian Religion; particularly *Zizim*, who was endu'd with much Generoſity, and a Regularity in his conditions.

After *Demetrius* had preſented the Letter to the Grand Maſter, he declar'd to him that he did not demand but only a ſlight Tribute for the ſole conditions of the Peace; and then craftily inſinuated that the Propoſals of the Princes were too civil to be deny'd by the generoſity of the Knights. That the friendſhip of the Invincible *Mahomet* was above the value of a ſlight homage. That it highly concern'd the Chriſtians to act prudently with a Conqueror who made all the Earth to tremble, and who vouchſaf'd to be their friend.

Theſe

Theſe fair words wrought little effect; for beſides that the Grand Maſter was informed by his Spies, that they had a mind to ſurprize them, he conjectur'd of himſelf at the motives of the Embaſſy by the Perſon of the Embaſſador; who was not unknown to him. The very name of *Renegado* gave him a ſuſpition. He lookt upon *Demetrius* as a Traitor, whom it behov'd him to beware of, and not as a perſon with whom he could negotiate ſecurely. So that the affair miſcarry'd at firſt, where *Mahomet* thought he had done for the beſt. Of ſo great importance it is for the ſucceſs of Negotiations and Embaſſies to employ perſons of Integrity and honour; or at leaſt ſuch as have the reputation of being ſo.

Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter diſſembl'd his diſtruſt, and judging how advantageous a ſuſpenſion of Arms would be, till ſuch time as all the warlike Proviſion which he expected every day were arrived, together with the Knights which had been ſummon'd, he did not utterly reject the

the Propoſitions of *Demetrius*, neither did he abſolutely accept it: and whatever Artifice the cunning Fox could uſe to draw from him a preciſe anſwer, all his reply was, that the Knights of *Rhodes* could not treat with *Mahomet* without the permiſion of the Pope; that queſtionleſs his Holineſs would not oppoſe the peace, provided that his Maſter would harken to thoſe Conditions which had formerly been concluded with *Amurath*, that is to ſay, without any mention of Tribute. That in expectation of the Popes anſwer, it would do well, if ſo it pleas'd the *Ottoman* Princes, that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms, and liberty of Commerce between the Chriſtians and the Turks.

The *Renegado*, who well underſtood how nice the Knights were in point of Tribute, and thought of nothing more then a poſitive refuſal at firſt, contented himſelf that he had ſet the buſineſs a foot. And the better to bring it to a happy concluſion, promiſed of his own accord, in the names of

Zizim

Zizim and *Shelebi* what the Grand Maſter had deſir'd, and departed very well ſatisfy'd, that he was not flatly deny'd.

The Grand Maſter wrote a very civil Letter to the two Princes; he thanked them for their kind endeavours, and highly applauded their good intentions; but he declar'd at the ſame time, without ſo much as mentioning the Tribute, that he could not come to any concluſion, till he knew the Popes reſolution, and how the Chriſtian Princes ſtood affected to it, who made the affairs of *Rhodes* their own buſineſs.

Demetrius had no ſooner given an accompt of his Negotiation, but the Princes ſent him back, with order not to ſpeak a word more of the Tribute, and to demand only ſome ſmall preſent, to cover with a ſpecious Title that ſubmiſſion which *Mahomet* exacted from the Knights. But their anſwer was ſtill the ſame that they could make no engagement, till they had heard news from *Rome*. All that they could farther ſay, was, that

that thoſe Preſents which were exacted yearly, did very much reſemble preſents, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not overforward to make any kind of Preſents to the Grand Signior.

Demetrius underſtood well enough what they meant. However he was yet in hopes that the Grand Maſter might at length be brought to relent, and to engage him thereto by his Intereſt, he promis'd him again a ſuſpention of Arms, with liberty of Trade. Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter did not fail to prepare for War, as if their had not been ſo much as any diſcourſe of peace; and that *Mahomet* ſhould not be inform'd of any thing, he order'd that no Veſſel ſhould ſtir out of the Port. He ſoon perceiv'd that the Infidels were not very curious in obſerving Truces: and the advice which was brought him that the *Turkiſh* Brigantines had taken certain Veſſels belonging to the Order, near the Iſlands of *Calamo* and *Epiſcopia*, confirm'd him more and more in the thoughts which he had, that

all

all this Treaty was but an Artifice; and he rather believ'd that the *Turks* were ſo much the more ready to beſeige *Rome*, by how much they ſeem'd to be fartheſt from any ſuch deſign. So that he renew'd all the Orders which he had given out for the ſecurity of the City; he alſo ſent to *Naples* the Knight *D'Albalat* of *Aragon* to buy Corn, and beſides that, as he was reſolv'd that the *Barbarians* ſhould not carry by famine what they could not win by force, he ſent into *Ægypt* and *Syria* for plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions.

In the mean time the Knights arriv'd at *Rhodes* from all parts of Chriſtendom. And in regard the aſſembly which was to be held the firſt of *May*, was put off by the Popes Bull, and deferr'd to the 28*th* of *October*, by an order of Council they appear'd almoſt all at a time.

The Grand Maſter, at the opening the Aſſembly, made a ſpeech that made no ſmall Impreſſion upon their Spirits. After the uſual ceremonies and

and Formalities, the ſixteen who were elected for the Government of all things, laid new Taxes upon all the Commanderies, and earneſtly deſir'd the Grand Maſter to take upon him the adminiſtration of the Revenue. Though he had other weighty buſineſs enough to do, and that this alone was ſufficient to take up a mans whole time, he readily accepted it; but the eaſineſs wherewith he acquitted himſelf of a charge ſo burthenſome, oblig'd the Knights to qualify the hardneſs of the Labour by the entire confidence which they manifeſtly let him ſee they had in him. They gave him full power to employ to what uſes, and after what manner he ſhould think good, all the money that ſhould be brought into the Treaſury. They alſo order'd that all the Ammunition and Warlike proviſions ſhould be put into his hands, to diſtribute as he ſhould ſee cauſe. Moreover that he ſhould have power to create the Receiver General of *Avignon*, and all the other Receivers, by one Warrant alone ſign'd by his hand:

that

that without having regard to the priority of Languages, nor the antiquity of the Knights, he might make the *Caſtellane* of *Rhodes*, the Judges and Baily of Commerce, the Captain of the Caſtle St. *Peter*, and all the Captains of the Galleys. That he might alſo chooſe the Captains of the three Towers, and the Gates of the City; that in caſe the Grand Commandery of *Cyprus*, the Bayliage of *Lango*, and the Office of Procurator General at the Court at *Rome* came to be vacant during his adminiſtration, it ſhould be free for him to diſpoſe thereof at his pleaſure. But to the end he might not be thwarted in the exerciſe of his charge, they forbid the Bayliffs, the Priors, and all the reſt of the Knights to meddle in any manner whatſoever with the treaſury. They alſo gave him the liberty to retain next his perſon, or to ſend to what place he pleas'd, ſeven of the Grand Croſſes which they nam'd, and to chooſe others by his own particular authority, if any one happen to miſcarry. Laſtly, becauſe

the revenue of the Grand Maſter, was very much impair'd, becauſe of their extraordinary expences for the Fortifications of the Iſland, or for the aid of the Subjects of the Order, they permitted him to keep in his hands, during his life, three of thoſe Commanderies which he had the priviledg to diſpoſe of himſelf, as Grand Maſter.

Hardly were the affairs of the Chapter at an end, when news was brought, that the Infidels had ſhewn themſelves before the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, under pretence of parlying upon an accommodation, but in truth to ſurprize the Garriſon. The Grand Maſter wrote further to the Governour of the Caſtle, and commanded him, by vertue of the holy obedience, to have no commerce with them, and to treat with them as if there were no truce in being. Neither was he ſatisfi'd in giving him his Orders, and advertizing him of the Ambuſcades of the enemies; he alſo ſent him a conſiderable reinforcement of Knights and Souldiers, which

which forc'd the enemy to retire.

But that the Order might not be in want of Money, when there was more occaſion for it then ever, the Grand Maſter, according to the abſolute authority which he had in the management of the Treaſury, eſtabliſh'd the Knight *D'Erland* his Lieutenant in the Priories of St. *Giles's* and *Tholouſe*, with ample power to change the Receivers and the Treaſurers; to be urgent with bad Paymaſters, and to puniſh them if there were occaſion; and to do his utmoſt to raiſe what large ſums he could. He diſpatch'd away the Knight *Chialli* for the ſame cauſe, into the Priories of *France*, *Aquitain*, and *Champaign*, after he had honour'd him with the dignity of Knight Hoſpitaller of the Order, which he had tak'n from the Knight *de Molay*, for not appearing at *Rhodes*, according to the time prefix'd in the Bull. He more ſeverely handl'd alſo other Knights, who being oblig'd to have made their appearance at the Aſſembly, had contemn'd his Orders,

and inſtead of haſtning to the defence of the Iſland, loyter'd at home, either plung'd in the pleaſures of an effeminate life, or taken up with the affairs of the world. For after he had declar'd them diſobedient and Rebels, he took away from them their habit, and cut them off from the body of the Order.

Now, though *Mahomet* got no advantage by all his devices, however he continu'd his undermining practices; imagining, according to the principles of his policy, that men were ſo much the more to affect credit and reputation, by how much the more theſe perſons, with whom he treated, had a diſtruſt; and that there are ſuch moments wherein the wiſeſt are ſurpriz'd, when a man knows how to maintain a cheat long enough.

Therefore in ſome meaſure to repair the fault which he had committed, in making choice of a ſuſpected perſon, he ſent a *Turk* of merit to *Rhodes*; and to take off all ſuſpition, he reſolv'd to appear, and own the

the negotiation himſelf. The Embaſſador did all that lay in his power to perſwade the *Rhodians* to believe that the Grand Signior ſincerely deſir'd a Peace; and he declar'd in full Council, that he came as well on the Grand Signior's behalf, as on the part of *Zizim*, to conclude it in the moſt amicable manner that might be. He deliver'd himſelf worthy and nobly, and far from that inſolent and diſdainful air with which the *Turks* are wont to treat the Chriſtians, with whom they negotiate; there appear'd neither pride nor haughtineſs in his behaviour. But all this affected carriage, whereby the Embaſſador of the *Ottoman* Court pretended to diſpel the ſuſpitions of the Grand Maſter, did but augment them. He conjectur'd that ſuch an extraordinary ſhew of ſincerity was but a mask of more fine and ſubtil deception; that there was no more credit to be given to the words of the unknown perſon, then to the *Greek* Renegado: For which reaſon he gave the ſecond Em-

baſſador no other anſwer then he had giv'n the former. But becauſe that he who intends to defend himſelf from a conceal'd enemy, is not by any means to make his diſcovery publick; and for that there are certain decencies to be obſerv'd with Illuſtrious enemies, how perfidious ſoever they be; The Grand Maſter would not permit the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador to have the leaſt glimpſe of his intentions, but ſent a Knight along with him, to let *Mahomet* underſtand that the Order was ready to make Peace with him upon the ancient conditions, but that he could not ſubmit to the payment of any duty. *Mahomet* extremely reſented a refuſal ſo plain and ſo haughty, but he had ſo much power over himſelf as to diſguiſe it. And therefore inſtead of manifeſting his diſpleaſure againſt the Embaſſador of *Rhodes*, he ſhew'd him all the marks of his favour; and the better to make good his Politicks, he added rich Preſents to his flattering words.

Yet

Yet all this did not dazle the eyes of the Grand Maſter: and therefore conſidering what he had done, he thought it but reaſonable to put himſelf in a poſture to expect the utmoſt of extremities, believing it would not be long ere the Grand Signior's fury would break out.

Mahomet indeed ſet forth from *Conſtantinople* with a Puiſſant Army. But inſtead of turning towards *Rhodes*, he march'd toward *Scutari*, whether it were out of an intention to amuſe the Knights, making them believe that he had no thoughts upon them; or whether he had a deſign to affright them, and at the ſame time to puniſh the *Venetians* for their obſtinate reſiſtance. The City was beſieg'd three years by the *Turk*; and it may be ſaid, that never place was more vigorouſly attacqu'd, nor more generouſly defended. The Aſſailants gave ſeveral Onſets at ſeveral times; and if we may believe the Writers of that time, they threw ſo many Arrows and Javelins into the Cities, that the beſieg'd had enough to make

up the breaches of the Walls, and for neceſſary firing when their wood was ſpent. And that which was more ſtrange, they were nothing diſmaid by the cruelties of *Mahomet*, who caus'd three hundred Priſoners to be cut in two in view of the Town. The only want of Victuals and Souldiers conſtrain'd them to ſurrender. And the reducing of *Scutari* was one of the Articles of Peace which the *Turks* made with the Common-wealth of *Venice*.

The Grand Maſter after that made no queſtion but that all the fury of the *Ottoman* power would fall upon him. But becauſe the affair of *Rhodes* was the common cauſe of the Church, and that without the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian Princes, it was not poſſible to hold out againſt the *Barbarians* any long time, he diſpatch'd away three Knights of ſingular worth to the principal Courts of *Europe*.

And becauſe it was of high importance in caſe of a Siege, that ſome of the Knights ſhould continue abroad to ſolicit the Succour of the Princes, and

and to manage the other affairs of the Order, the Grand Maſter order'd the Knight *Piozzaſco*, whom he had eſtabliſh'd his Lieutenant, when he ſent him to *Sixtus* the fourth, and who had always been reſident in the Court of *Rome*. He commanded the Knight *Blanchefort*, his Nephew, whom he ſent to *Lewis* the eleventh to ſtay in *France* with the Knights *de Bridiers*, and *de Dauvois*, who accompani'd him in his Embaſſy. And having thus ſettl'd his affairs, he reſolv'd to put himſelf into a poſture to receive the *Barbarians*, fully believing that the *Turkiſh* Army would ſuddenly appear before *Rhodes*. Nor was his conjecture falſe. *Mahomet* put off his Vizor; and as before his ambition gave way to his prudence, now his prudence gave way to his choler and deſpight. He could no longer endure that a ſmall Republick ſhould brave him in the very boſom of his Empire, and the haughtineſs of the Knights augmented his ſo far, as to make him fall into tranſports of rage, which would not permit him to liſten

liſten to the reaſons of his wiſeſt Miniſters. He believ'd none but *Demetrius* and *Meligale*: thoſe two Renegado's obtain'd the ſole diſpoſal of his thoughts; and according to the cuſtom of intereſted Courtiers, who flatter the paſſion of the Prince to ſatisfy their own; they ſo vehemently incens'd him againſt the *Rhodians*, and the Order of St. *John*, that he reſolv'd to lay ſiege to *Rhodes*.

The better to fix and ſettle ſo important an enterprize, he held a ſecret Council, to which he call'd the moſt expert Engineers of all his Armies; but the perſon he moſt confided in, was *George Frapam*, a *German*, who was profoundly skill'd in the art of War, and who after he had liv'd ſome years in the Iſland of *Scio*, went to *Conſtantinople*, where being marri'd, he had acceſs to the Grand Signior, who lov'd men of Parts. He had formerly been at *Rhodes*, and had taken an exact plat-form of the City. Upon this plat-form, as that which was adjudg'd the moſt regular of all the reſt,

reſt, he began to lay his contrivances for the management of the ſiege. *Mahomet*, who was reſolv'd not to go in perſon, whether for fear of hazarding his Renown, or elſe not caring to honour the Knights by fighting againſt them himſelf, declar'd his Baſha, *Miſach Paleologus*, General of his Army. This was his principal Favourite, and the moſt Illuſtrious *Baſha* of the whole Empire. He was a *Greek* of the Imperial Houſe of the *Paleologi*, born a Chriſtian, and bred up in Chriſtianiſm. He forſook his Religion to ſave his life at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, when the Conqueror put to death all that fell into his hands of the Family or Blood of the Emperor *Conſtantine*. Having abjur'd his Faith, it was no hard thing for him to obtain the higheſt Commands in the *Ottoman* Court. His wit, his courage and deportment, were anſwerable to his birth. He had by degrees habituated himſelf to the cuſtoms of the *Turks*; yet not altogether forgetting the faſhions of the *Greeks*; ſo that in him the

the rudeneſs of the one, and the politeneſs of the other, ſeem'd to be both joyn'd together. When he had gain'd the favour of the Grand Signior, he accompani'd him in all his military Expeditions, and always ſhar'd both in his deſigns and Conqueſts. So that in time he acquir'd great experience in War; and it was the general opinion of *Turkey*, that next to *Mahomet*, there was none more fit to undertake the Conduct of a difficult enterprize then Baſha *Paleologus*.

In the mean while, for fear the Grand Maſter ſhould have advice of what paſt at *Conſtantinople*, *Mahomet* ſet guards upon all the Paſſes, and commanded his Governors to ſtop all Poſts, and to open all Letters. He order'd alſo a great number of Infantry to fall down through *Aſia* the leſs. But that it ſhould not be thought that he intended a ſiege, while he prepares the great Ships which were to carry the extraordinary pieces of Cannon; he ſent forth out of the Streight a hunder'd and fifty light Ships with ordinary Artillery, giving

it our at the ſame time, that the whole deſign of the *Ottoman* Court, was to pillage the Sea Coaſts and Iſlands of the Chriſtians.

Baſha Paleologus ſtay'd not till the great Fleet was ready; he went abroad the firſt Veſſels that ſet ſail; and to conceal his deſign from the *Turks* themſelves, he ſteer'd a courſe different from that of *Rhodes*. *Mahomet* was pleas'd that *Demetrius* and *Meligale* ſhould bear the *Baſha* Company together with the *German* Engineer, from whom he promiſed himſelf great matters.

All theſe precautions of *Mahomet* and the *Baſha*, could not prevent but that the deſigns of the *Ottoman* Court were diſcover'd at *Rhodes*, the Grand Maſter being inform'd of every thing by his Spies which he kept in the *Ottoman* Court. However the News did not come much before the Gallies that ſet out firſt began to appear. For they ſhew'd themſelves within ſight of the Iſland upon the fourth day of *December* in the year 1479. and came to an Anchor before the

Fort

Fort of *Fano*. The General of the *Turks*, who would not be idle, in expectation of the reſt of his Forces, immediately landed the Cavalry which he had brought with him; and order'd his Avant Curriers to harraſs the Countrey, and burn the Villages.

The Knight *Rodolphus* of *Wertemberg*, Baily of *Brandenburgh*, whom the Grand Maſter had aſſign'd to ſuſtain the firſt efforts of the Enemy, did not ſuffer the *Spahi's* punctually to execute the Orders of their General; for he charg'd them at the head of the Light Horſe which he commanded, and after he had ſlain ſeveral of them, forc'd the reſt to betake them to their Ships.

This Repulſe conſtrain'd the *Baſha* to retire; but it was only to attacque *Felo*, one of the Iſlands which the Knights poſſeſs'd in the Archipelago. The *Turks* batter'd the Fort without ceaſing for eight days together, and ſeveral times they ſcal'd the Walls, but all to no purpoſe; for the Knights, the Souldiers, and the Coun-

Country men that defended the place, made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the Enemy rais'd his Siege with no ſmall loſs and diſgrace. Whereupon the Grand Maſter did not only commend in full council the valour of the Gariſon, but alſo ſent conſiderable rewards to thoſe that had moſt couragiouſly behav'd themſelves, proportionable to their condition and merit.

Theſe firſt Exploits encourag'd the Chriſtians, though they did diſcourage the Infidels. Nor did *Miſach Paleologus* lay ſo much to heart the misfortune of his Arms, as the death of *Meligale*. That *Renegado*, whom the *Baſha* reſerv'd for great occaſions, was ſtruck with a prodigious diſeaſe upon the Sea, which carry'd him off in a few days. His body was all over nothing but corruption; and beſides the inſupportable ſtench of his Corps, the Worms which eat him alive, render'd him a miſerable ſpectacle to all the world; the ſight of which was dreadful to behold. After he had endur'd the utmoſt

moſt extremities of Torment, and in vain implor'd relief from Heaven, he dy'd blaſpheming God, and curſing men, almoſt in view of *Rhodes*. Paying that puniſhment which his Country exacted from him by a moſt Tragical end.

In the mean time the *Turkiſh* Fleet paſs'd the Streight of *Gallipoli*, and the Forces that came by Land, rendevouz'd in *Lycia*, as they were appointed. There the report ran that *Mahomet* was ſuddenly dead, and that the Souldiers which march'd from all parts, were only to prevent ſuch Commotions and Inſurrections as are wont to happen upon the death of the Emperor. A *Greek* Spy, who was diſcover'd at *Rhodes*, and the Priſoners that were taken and ſent thither by the Knights of the Fort of *Fano*, confeſs'd all they knew. By other means alſo the Grand Maſter underſtood that the Enemies Fleet drew nearer and nearer, and being one that was accuſtom'd to falſe reports, he believ'd nothing leſs then the death of *Mahomet*; and as for that

that of *Meligale*, he look'd upon it as an example of Divine Juſtice, and a pledg of Victory.

However he omitted not to take all the caution that Humane prudence could require. And therefore conſidering that the Churches of St. *Mary* and St. *Anthony*, that ſtood without the City, and very near the Walls, might ſerve for ſhelter for the Infidels, and annoy the Town; he caus'd them to be pull'd down. He order'd that the Inhabitants who had Gardens and Houſes about the City, ſhould cut down all the Trees that did not bear Fruit, and that they ſhould bring into *Rhodes* as much of the Wood as they could. He commanded them alſo to cut down all the Barley and Oats that were grown up, that the Enemy might want forrage for their Horſes, and alſo all the Wheat, and to ſpoil the Graſs and green Plants. After which having choſen for Captains of the Succeſſors, the Hoſpitaller, the Admiral, the Chancellour and Treaſurer of the Order; he gave inſtructions to the

Knights of the ſeveral Languages what they ſhould ſeverally act: exhorting them in a few words to acquit themſelves faithfully of their duties. *Behold*, ſaid he, *Brave Knights, an oppertunity at length for ye all to ſhew what ye are. We have proviſions of all ſorts in abundance, and though our forces are not ſo numerous as thoſe of the Enemy, they are both valianter and better diſciplin'd.* Italy, France, Germany, *all Chriſtendom will ſend us relief, and we are aſſur'd of Victory, provided we do our duty. Jeſus Chriſt as our Captain in the War, he will not forſake them that fight for his names ſake; And it will only belong to you, when you have caus'd the Infidels to raiſe their Siege, to drive them out of* Conſtantinople, *with the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian Princes.*

But becauſe the Grand Maſter was fully perſwaded, that in affairs the beſt order'd are not always ſucceſsful, unleſs favour'd and proſper'd by God himſelf: he caus'd publick prayers to be made to Heaven, and ſent for an Image of the Virgin. It was that

which

which the *Rhodians* worſhipp'd upon Mount *Palermus*, and which after *Solyman* had taken *Rhodes* was carry'd to *Malta*, where it ſtill remains in the Church of St. *John* the Baptiſt. What the fatal Image of *Minerva* was to the people of *Troy*, that was the Image of the Virgin to the people of *Rhodes*; who believ'd they had nothing to fear while ſhe was in the midſt of them.

In the mean while the Sentinel that ſtood upon the top of St. *Stevens* Mount, gave a Signal, to advertize that the Enemies Fleet appear'd. The Grand Maſter haſted to the Mountain to ſatisfy his own eyes, carrying along with him men expert in Sea affairs, who were all of one opinion, by the courſe which the Fleet ſteer'd, that they were bound to join with the *Baſha*, who ſtay'd for them in the Port of *Feſco*; there to embarque all his Forces. Nor were they deceiv'd. For the Souldiers being embarqu'd with all ſpeed, the *Ottoman* Fleet compos'd of a hundred and ſixty Sail, ſteer'd directly along the

Coaſt of *Lycia*, with a fair Gale: at length it appear'd before *Rhodes* again the 23*d* of *May* in the year 1480. Then to ſee the excellent order of the *Barbarians*, to hear the joyful ſhouts of the *Barbarians*, the ſound of the Fifes, the noiſe of the Trumpets; it ſeem'd, as if they had been Triumphant Victorers making their entry into a conquer'd City.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Third.

THE City of *Rhodes* ſo famous in Antiquity for Art and Science, there cheriſh'd, and for the birth of ſo many famous men, is ſeated by the Sea-ſide upon the deſcent of a little Hill, which riſes inſenſibly, in a pleaſant plain, in the North part of the Iſland, that bears its name. It is crown'd

with ſeveral little Hillocks full of clear Springs; and which in the time of the Grand Maſter, whoſe ſtory I write, were all ſhaded with Orange, Pomegranate Trees, and others of the ſame nature. It was then well built, immur'd with a double Wall, fortify'd with ſeveral Towers, that were encompaſs'd every one with a kind of Ravelin or Baſtion. A great Rampart ſuſtain'd theſe Walls within, and a large and deep Moat environ'd them without. But toward the South, and on that ſide where the *Jews* inhabited in the low Town, the Towers were ſomething more diſtant one from another; for which reaſon that ſide was ſo much the weaker.

The Quarter where the Knights liv'd, which was call'd the Manſions, of the Languages, which was a kind of City by it ſelf, was the ſtronger not only for its ſcituation, but alſo for the ſcituation which art had added to it. For beſides that the Sea waſh'd it upon the North and Eaſt, it was defended by two Bulwarks,

nine

nine Towers, and by a particular Fortification that extended it ſelf to the Sea. A very thick Wall, and flank'd with good Towers, ſeparated it from the low Town, which the people and inhabitants poſſeſs'd. The Palace of the Grand Maſter that run along the Manſions of the Knight upon the Weſt ſide, was better fortify'd then the reſt, having three or four diſtinct encloſures.

The Port that was the chief defence of the whole City, look'd toward the Eaſt, and ſomewhat toward the North. It was made by two Moles, that ſtretching themſelves from the Walls of the City, and almoſt meeting one another, left no more room but for one Gally at a time to enter. The entry was guarded by two ſtrong Towers, ſeated upon two Rocks, upon which formerly ſtood the famous Coloſſus of Braſs, which was accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the World.

Two little Boſomes of Sea did as it were adorn the Port upon the North and South ſides, and a Mole that

ſtretch'd it ſelf above three hunder'd paces into the Sea, at the end whereof ſtood the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, which clos'd the boſom that lay upon the North.

If we may believe the old *Arabick* Chronicles, intermixt with many fables, this Fort was anciently built by an *Arabian* Prince, call'd by the name of *Muhavias*, a great Souldier, and Son of *Abi Safian*. This Prince, from Governor of *Egypt* and *Syria*, coming to be *Caleph* nine and thirty years after *Mahomet*, was no ſooner ſeated upon the *Arabian* Throne, but he reſolv'd to conquer all the *Roman* Empire; and his firſt deſign was to attaque *Conſtantinople* by Sea and Land. But he was advis'd to go firſt to *Rhodes*, which the exploits of the *Romans* made every day more famous then other, among all the Nations of the World. For the bringing of which enterprize to paſs, having beſieg'd the City, he built a Tower juſt by the Port, upon the Rocks that ran very far into the Sea. And thoſe fabulous Stories relate that he

he built this Tower ſo high, that the top of it touch'd the Heavens, and the foundations reach'd to the center of the Earth.

The truth is, that after the *Venètians* had rais'd the ſiege of *Rhodes*, in the year 1464, the Grand Maſter, *Zacoſta*, conſidering of what great advantage a Fort built upon thoſe Rocks would be for the defence of the City, began that very year to build the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and that *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, gave twelve thouſand Crowns in Gold to finiſh it; which engag'd the Knights to ſet the Arms of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Provinces under his ſubjection, upon the Tower.

This was the condition of the City of *Rhodes*, when it was beſieg'd by the Army of *Mahomet*. The Fleet came to an Anchor juſt againſt St. *Steven*'s Mount; and mauger all that the Knights could do to hinder their landing, the *Turks* got footing, and lodg'd themſelves immediately upon the Mount, and in the neighbouring plains: At the ſame time they

they brought a-ſhore all their Artillery alſo, and their Engines of War. The *Baſha* had in his Army, which conſiſted at leaſt of a hunder'd thouſand men, all the beſt Squadrons of *Anatolia*, the choice of the *Spahi's* and *Janizaries*, above four thouſand Voluntiers, ſeveral *Beys* of *Romania* and other Governments; and laſtly, ſeveral Companies compos'd of the *Veteran* Bands that had follow'd *Mahomet* in all his military Expeditions.

No ſooner were they encamp'd, but a Troop of Voluntiers came briskly up to the walls of the City, to brave the *Rhodians*; whether the firſt heat with which they landed were not yet allaid, or whether they thought that ſome bold and irregular action could do no harm at the beginning of the Siege. But their precipitation coſt them dear; for a party of the Knights ſallying out upon them, charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that after they had ſlain a great number of them, they put the reſt to flight. The Knights were no ſooner re-enter'd, but the

Barba-

Barbarians return'd in better order, and far more numerous, to obſerve the condition of the Town. The Renegado, *Demetrius*, was in the head of them; in whom the *Baſha* moſt confided, ſince the death of *Meligale*. Thereupon the Knights made a ſecond ſally, commanded by *Antony D'Aubuſſon*, Vicount of *Monteil*, the Grand Maſter's Brother.

He arriv'd at *Rhodes* but ſome days before, with an Equipage and a Train anſwerable to his Quality. He came to *Rhodes* not only with an intention to go to *Jeruſalem*, and to viſit the holy Sepulcher, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times; but alſo to aſſiſt the Grand Maſter, his Brother, and to ſerve the Church, finding himſelf in a Siege with which the Knights were menac'd every moment. He was a perſon of great Honour and Generoſity, very skilful in the art of War, and one that profoundly underſtood the world. He was made Captain General of the *Rhodians* upon his arrival, the Heads of the Council, who knew his worth, making

making choice of him with one conſent. He had brought along with him ſeveral Gentlemen of *Marche*, that were his Tenants, or elſe his Friends; not to ſpeak of other Souldiers that accompani'd him, of which the chief were *Lewis* of *Chaon*, of one of the moſt noble Houſes of *Anjou*, *William Gomare* of *Xaintonge*, *Matthew Brangelier* of *Perigord*, *Claudian Colombe* of *Bourdeaux*, *Charles le Roy* of *Dijon*, and *Lewis Sanguin* of *Paris*.

The Vicount of *Monteil* ſtaid not till the enemy came up to him, but march'd to them with his Sword in his hand, and charg'd them vigorouſly with his Troop. The *Turks* ſuſtain'd the firſt charge without ſtirring, and *Demetrius* encourag'd them ſo by his words, and his example, that they at length made the Chriſtians give ground. They had perhaps put them to diſorder, if the Vicount of *Monteil* had not impetuouſly ſpurr'd his Horſe upon the chief of the *Barbarians*, who ſeem'd to him to be the moſt reſolv'd and couragious. The

Knights

Knights followed the Vicount, and behav'd themſelves ſo valiantly, that the enemies were preſently cut to pieces, mauger all the reſiſtance they made. *Demetrius* defended himſelf with all the courage that honour and fury could inſpire into him. But his Horſe being kill'd under him, he was himſelf thrown to the ground, and trampl'd over by the Horſes. Inſomuch, that he who had abjur'd the Faith, and conſpir'd the deſtruction of *Rhodes*, advanc'd the deſign of the Infidels no more than his friend *Meligalus*; over whom he had only this advantage, to dye with his Arms in his hands, and ſignalizing his valour; a death too noble for a Renegado and a Traytor.

The *Rhodians* in this encounter only loſt the Knight *de Murat*, of the *Auvernian* Language, and one of the braveſt perſons of the Order. He was encompaſt by a Body of *Spahi's*, being in the purſuit of ſome that ran away, and run through in a thouſand places, while he was diſarming *Demetrius*. The *Turks* put his head upon

on the end of a Lance, and to comfort themſelves for their misfortune, carri'd it into their Camp with moſt hideous yellings, and ſhouts of deriſion. The body was recover'd out of their hands by Knights, and the Grand Maſter caus'd him to be enterr'd with all the pomp and honour that ſo renown'd an action deſerv'd.

Theſe firſt attempts not having ſucceeded with the Infidels, the *Dutch* Engineer advis'd the battering of St. *Nicholas* Tower, believing that if they could maſter that, the City would ſoon ſurrender; or at leaſt, that they ſhould thereby hinder any Veſſel from getting into the Port. The *Baſha* believ'd the Engineer, and the *Turks* carri'd three great pieces of Artillery into the Gardens adjoyning to St. *Anthony*'s Church, which commanded the Tower. They preſently cut down the trees, and after they had plac'd their Gabions to ſecure themſelves, they ſhot without ceaſing.

The Grand Maſter immediately rais'd a Counter Battery with three pieces,

pieces, in the Garden of the *Auvernian* lodgings. Now, in regard the noiſe of the Cannon, that never lay ſtill all day long, alarm'd the inhabitants, he walk'd his rounds about the City, accompani'd by the principal Knights, confirming the courage of the people by his preſence. He alſo viſited all the Poſts the ſame night, encouraging the Souldiers, and exhorting them to fight couragiouſly for the Faith.

No ſooner the day began to peep, but the *German* Engineer appear'd upon the brink of the City-Moat, humbly deſiring the Guards to open the Gates for him; but the Souldiers had certainly ſhot him, had not ſome of the more prudent Knights prevented them. Thereupon, by the command of the Grand Maſter, he was ſet in, and conducted to the Caſtle. He was a perſon of a very good preſence, and tall in ſtature; he had a crafty wit, quite contrary to the character of his Nation; bold enough, and one that knew how to uſe his tongue. He was known at *Rhodes*, and

and was accompted one of the most skilful Artists of his time. Being examin'd what reason had brought him thither, he answer'd, that he came to defend *Rhodes*. That he could no longer endure the reproaches of his own conscience, for having employ'd his art against the faithful; that preferring his Salvation before his Fortune, he did absolutely renounce the advancement which he might expect among the *Turks*; that he should be happy to dye in the defence of the Faith. That he desir'd nothing else of God; but that he durst not hope for a favour, of which he was so unworthy. The Grand Master commended his zeal, without manifesting the least mistrust; and having exhorted him to persist in his good resolutions, he examin'd him concerning the Army of the *Turks*.

The *German*, the more bold, because he thought himself unsuspected, spoke with an air and a countenance that shew'd nothing of a Traytor, that the *Turkish* Army was above a hunder'd thousand men effective, besides

beſides the Forces that were coming to joyn with them; that the *Turks*, beſides their ordinary Cannon, had ſome prodigious pieces, above eighteen foot long, that carri'd bullets of three foot in diameter. That they were reſolv'd to periſh all, rather then think of raiſing the Siege, which was the only thing that griev'd him. He ſpake with ſo much confidence, that many believ'd what he ſaid, to be real. The Grand Maſter, that he might venture nothing, yet make uſe of the opportunity which Fortune had put into his hands, thought he might make uſe of the Engineer, though he were reſolv'd not to truſt him. To that purpoſe he commanded the Knights, who had the charge of the Artillery, to conſult him in every thing, and not to raiſe any battery without him. And to prevent his return to the *Turks* Camp, or from keeping any correſpondence with them, he order'd ſix of the ſtouteſt Souldiers in the City always to attend him, to whom he gave private inſtructions to keep him always

in ſight, and never to leave him alone all at a time.

Though the Grand Maſter had ſent to *Rome* the Knight *Cardona*, when the Infidels firſt appear'd before the Iſle; however he fail'd not to ſend again, ſo ſoon as they were landed. He ſent alſo to the King of *France* and to the other Chriſtian Princes. But becauſe the Letter which he had ſent to the abſent Priors, had not taken that full effect which he deſir'd; he diſpatch'd away another, wherein, after he had given an account of the beginning of the Siege to the Knights that were not yet return'd; he declar'd to them alſo that having put all his truſt in God, he fear'd neither the force nor cunning of the *Barbarians*; yet that he hop'd that perſons of their worth and renown, would not fail to come to the relief of the Order at ſuch a time of neceſſity as this. He added alſo, that notwithſtanding the Siege, the Port ſhould be always open to the Veſſels of the Chriſtians.

In

In the mean while, *Misach Paleologus* having well consider'd the situation and the outside of the Town, and being of Opinion with the Engineer, that all would follow the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, he caus'd his biggest Pieces to be planted where they had rais'd the first Battery; and in a small time they made above three hundered Shot. The Tower was shaken to the very Foundations, and batter'd in several places. The great Wall upon the West side fell almost all down, and falling, made a most dreadful noise; so that the noise and shouts of joy among the *Barbarians*, caus'd a terrible fear in the City; but they were soon encourag'd by the Exhortations of *Antony Fradin*, of the Order of St. *Francis*, a man eloquent and Apostolick, who run up and down with a Crucifix in his hand performing the same good Offices at *Rhodes*, which *John Capestran* did at *Belgrade*.

The Tower could not stand, considering the condition to which the Canon had reduc'd it; and yet there

was a neceſſity of preſerving it, or hazarding the loſs of all. Thereupon the Grand Maſter reſolv'd to chooſe the Flower of the Knights and Souldiers to reinforce the Garriſon. And having repreſented to them of what importance it was, not to abandon that poſt, he ſent them thither under the command of *Fabritius Caretta* an *Italian*, conjuring them to remember that they had in their hands the Deſtiny of *Rhodes*. He alſo went thither in a Barque himſelf, to ſee what work the Cannons had made, and finding that the ruines of the Wall had made a kind of Baſtion round about the remaining part, ſo that their Batteries could do no more harm, he made an encloſure of great Beams mortais'd one within another, and nail'd together, to ſtrengthen the compaſs of the Wall & the Ditch it ſelf, which was hollow'd out of the Rock: and ſeeing that ſome part of the Wall was fallen within the Fort, he caus'd the Ruins to be carry'd away for the conveniency of the Garriſon. Then becauſe the little Golph that waſh'd

the

the Weſt ſide of the Mole was ſometimes ſo low that it might be waded, he ſet all hands at work to prevent the Infidels from making their approaches that way. To that end they laid Planks at the bottom of the Water all ſtuck with Iron Spiks; and then there was a good ſtrong Guard plac'd upon the out Wall on that ſide of the City; in the Trenches alſo lay a ſtout ſquadron of *French* and *Spaniſh* Knights, to relieve the Gariſon in the Tower, upon occaſion.

The Grand Maſter ſpent all the night a Horſe back, and in Arms, ſtirring continually to keep his men in Breath. The Knights and Souldiers kept their Poſts all night, without ſtirring, but ſtill upon the watch, and ready to fight the Enemy. The Grand Maſter was alſo very careful to plant ſeveral pieces of Canon all along the Walls of the City that lookked toward the Mole of the Tower, to ſink the *Turkiſh* Gallies that ſhould ride there to favour the aſſault, He alſo provided ſeveral fire Ships to burn the Enemies Gallies while they

made the attacque. And in regard all was to be hazarded to ſave a poſt, upon which depended the ſafety of the City, he put himſelf into the Tower, together with his Brother the Viſcount of *Monteile*.

All theſe Cautions were but little enough; for day no ſooner appear'd, but the *Turkiſh* Gallies weigh'd from before Mount St. *Stevens*, and ſteer'd directly to the Tower with a freſh gale, with a loud noiſe of Trumpets and Drums. No ſooner were they come near the Rocks of the Fort, but the *Barbarians* leapt a ſhoar, and while the Gallies play'd from the Sea, they ran to the aſſault, with a fury that look'd more like deſperateneſs, then courage. At the ſame time, they within diſcharg'd all their Cannon from the Walls upon the Galleys, and the Musketeers from the Mole gave the Infidels ſo ſmart a Volley, that they kill'd moſt of them upon the place; the reſt more furious for the ſlaughter of the others, and reinforc'd with freſh ſupplies, in ſpight of all the ſhot from the City, fell boldly to the

the *Scalado*. They that defended the Tower, encourag'd by the preſence of the Grand Maſter, and the neceſſity of vanquiſhing or periſhing, ſuſtain'd the aſſault with a reſolution that aſtoniſh'd the Aſſailants. Never was there perhaps an attacque more obſtinate, nor a more ſtout defence. The *Turks* that fought almoſt in the air, tumbl'd every foot from the top of the Rocks either dead or wounded, but their rooms were ſoon fill'd up; ſo that it ſeem'd as if they had been ſtill the ſame people, & that their blows took no effect. *Alexis* of *Tarſus*, one of the moſt valiant of the *Turks*, was careful to ſupply the aſſault with freſh men. He commanded that day in the place of the *Baſſa*, who was detain'd ſick in the Camp; and his undauntedneſs gave ſo much courage to the *Turks*, that they fought all wounded and bloody as they had been ſavage-beaſts, enrag'd at the ſight of their blood, and no way concern'd at the fear of death.

The Butcheries of the *Barbarians* rather redoubl'd then abated the courage of the Knights; who fought like men that had nothing to be good husbands of, but rather ſought to kill, then to defend themſelves. The Grand Maſter, who perform'd all the offices of a good Captain, and a private Souldier, had his head-piece ſtruck'n from his head with a ſtone. But in regard he was neither wounded nor ſtunn'd with the blow, he took a Hat inſtead of a Helmet, and continu'd in the heat of the fight with his wonted tranquility; however, he was hit by ſeveral Arrows that pierc'd his Armour in ſeveral places.

Theſe accidents caus'd the Knights to be very ſolicitous for their Captain. And the Commander, *Carretta*, ſeeing many people fall about the Grand Maſter, beſought him earneſtly to retire. To whom the Grand Maſter ſmiling, reply'd, *You have more to hope for, then I to fear. You will one day reap the fruit of my pains*, added he, by a kind of Prophetical Spirit; as it were foretelling the Commander

mander, that Heaven had deſir'd him to be one day Grand Maſter of *Rhodes.*

The Vicount of *Monteil* ſhar'd with his Brother in the travel, and the danger; The artificial Fires, and Cannon-ſhot that flew continually from the Town, and the perpetual ſhowers of Muſquet-bullets, Arrows, and Stones, wrought a moſt wonderful effect. On the other ſide, the Fire-ſhips ſet fire to ſeveral Galleys, and the Arillery of the Garriſon ſo ill entreated the Galleys that defended themſelves from the Fire-ſhips, that the enemies, after they had in a ſhort time loſt above ſeven hunder'd of theirs, were conſtrain'd to give way. Now, as it is uſual to run from one extremity to another, and that nothing is weaker then a Plunatick, when the fitt is over; theſe men, valiant even to fury, and who boaſted to out-brave death, betook themſelves to their heels with ſo much haſte, that the moſt part were drown'd flying.

So

So soon as the *Turkish* Galleys were rejoyn'd to the rest of the Fleet that lay before St. *Steven*'s Mount, and that the Tower of St. *Nicholas* was in no more danger, the Grand Master enter'd the City, together with Knights, who had assisted him to drive out the enemy. All the people receiv'd him as their Preserver, with a thousand acclamations, and throng'd after him to the Church of St. *John Baptist*, whither he went to return thanks to God for the Victory he had gain'd; not questioning but that so much happy success was an effect of divine protection.

The vexation of the *Basha* for the ill success of his first enterprize, did not take from him the hope of succeeding in a second. He was perswaded, that by attacquing the City in the weakest part, he should easily repair the loss which he had sustain'd. To which purpose he caus'd eight great pieces of Cannon to be planted against the *Jews* Wall, and threw up several Brest-works for the security of the Infidels. He also lodg'd

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certain pieces of Cannon upon the point of land that enclos'd one of the little Golphs; raiſing that battery to deſtroy the Mills that were built all along the Mole, and thunder down the Tower of the Port directly oppoſite to that point of land.

The Grand Maſter ſlept not at all. He knew that the *Jews* Wall could not long reſiſt the *Turks* Cannons, how thick or ſtrong ſoever it were; and that the only way to ſave the place, was to entrench himſelf behind the Wall. For which reaſon he caus'd ſeveral houſes to be pull'd down, and a deep Moat to be made, large enough to put a ſtop to the Infidels, in caſe they ſhould come to aſſault the Breaches they ſhould make. He alſo built up behind the Moat a thick brick-wall with a good Terraſs of Earth to ſuſtain it. They labour'd night and day to perfect theſe works; and the Grand Maſter himſelf at the head of the Labourers, was as active as any of the reſt, to carry Stones and Lime to advance the work by his preſence.

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Rich and Poor, Men, Women, Maids and Religious people, forgetting condition or ſex wrought as common Labourers; the very Children did what lay in their power, doing more then the weakneſs of their age ſeem'd to permit; apparently incited by ſomething ſupernatural to the defence of Religion, and their Countrey.

Theſe new Fortifications were hardly finiſh'd, when the *Turks* began their new Batteries. The Bullets that flew continually, and were of an extraordinary bigneſs, aſtoniſhed the Engineers of the City, inſomuch that the *German* Engineer confeſs'd that he never ſaw any thing like them before. The Sea ſhoar reſounded with moſt dreadful roarings of the Cannon, the noiſe whereof was heard above forty Leagues from the Iſland. But the effect was more terrible then the noiſe; for beſides that thoſe Guns caus'd a kind of Earthquake when they went off, the Batteries beat down all the Wall, and made moſt dreadful breaches.

Beſides the Mortar pieces, which the Enemy had planted round the City, threw up into the Air Stones of a vaſt bigneſs, which falling upon the Tiles of the Houſes, made their entrance in, and kill'd all that ſtood in their way; and the horrible Ruin which they made caus'd a ſad confuſion in the City. The Inhabitants who could be no where ſafe, neither in their Houſes nor in the Streets, began to cry out and mutter of ſurrendring; at what time the Grand Maſter bethought himſelf of an expedient which ſtifl'd the ſedition in its infancy, and ſav'd the lives of an infinite company of people. He order'd that the Women, Children, and perſons that were of no uſe, ſhould all retire into the ſpace which was between the Houſes and the Ramparts upon the Weſt ſide, all which ſpace he cover'd with a moſt ſubſtantial roof, compos'd of good Rafters joyn'd together, and able to reſiſt the weight of much bigger Stones. The *Turks* who knew not that the Citizens had quitted their houſes, directed

rected their Engines againſt thoſe places which they thought moſt inhabited; ſo that at laſt thoſe murdrous ſhowres took little effect. The Souldiers and the Knights receiv'd but little harm, whoſe Poſts were like Bulworks; no more then from the Artillery which the Turks plaid from a riſing ground that did but little command the City.

The *Baſha* who thought to have reduc'd the City by the diſcharge of his great pieces, finding that the beſieged ſpoke not a word of Capitulation, yet not willing to hazard the Aſſault, took a ſtrange reſolution to put an end to the Seige. He conſider'd that the perſon of the Grand Maſter was the main obſtacle that hinder'd his taking the Town, and that the Knights would never ſurrender, ſo long as they had ſuch a valiant and expert Commander, ſo that he thought the beſt and ſafeſt way was to make ſure of him. This deſign of his he communicated to two *Renegado's*, who coming to the *Turks* Camp at the beginning of the Siege; had abjur'd

jur'd the Chriſtian faith, and made a ſhew of much zeal for the *Mahumetan* Sect. The one was a *Dalmatian*, the other of *Albania*. They had both of them acquaintance in *Rhodes*; and the *Albaneſe*, who was a crafty and intelligent perſon, was very well known to one of the Secretaries to the Grand Maſter, an *Italian*, whoſe name was *Philelpho*. The *Renegado's* themſelves immediately offer'd to do the buſineſs, either by ſtab or poiſon. Though the Execution were both difficult and dangerous; but a wicked man may do any thing when he fears nothing.

At the time when the two Aſſaſſinates were preparing to leave the Camp, *Aly Baſha* arriv'd there from *Conſtantinople*. *Mahomet*, who began to be diſturb'd at the Siege, had ſent him expreſly to advertize *Paleologus*, that he would come himſelf with a reinforcement of a hundred thouſand men, and fifteen hundred Cannon of a prodigious bigneſs. Whether the advice were true or falſe the Infidels receiv'd it as an Oracle which aſſur'd

assur'd them of the victory. For the very name of *Mahomet* fill'd the Camp with joy, and inspir'd new heat into the Souldiers. This produc'd an effect quite contrary in the City. The *Renegado's* who got into the City one after another, that they might not seem to have any acquaintance one with another, were receiv'd as persons ransom'd out of Captivity; having given out that they unfortunately fell into the hands of the *Barbarians* in the second Sally. At their first admittance they reported, that *Mahomet* was coming with a formidable Army, and that all was lost, if they did not come to a Capitulation, before his arrival. Some of the *Italian* Knights who guarded the post on that side, and questionless were not the bravest of their Nation, were affrighted at the news. Some *Spanish* Knights also who took the Alarum upon the same noise joining with the *Italians*, caball'd together, and had private Conferences in the night time, the result whereof was that since they could not save *Rhodes*, they should

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at leaſt ſave the honour of the *Rhodians*, by making an advantageous Compoſition. The *Italians* who were the Captains of the Cabal, diſcover'd their deſign to *Philelpho*, in whom the Grand Maſter repos'd a great truſt; and after they had made him of their party, they engag'd him to repreſent to the Grand Maſter, the neceſſity of yeilding to ſave the Iſland from the utmoſt miſeries of War.

Philelphus was a perſon of Hononour and Sincerity, but one that lov'd his Nation, and had too great an eſteem for his Countrey-men, to think them guilty of any treachery. And therefore believing that the *Italians* meant well, and that acting with the *Spaniards*, they could not take any wrong or injurious courſes, he not only undertook to ſpeak, but acquitted himſelf of his promiſe.

So ſoon as the Grand Maſter underſtood by his Secretary what had paſt, he ſent for the moſt factious before him,; and diſſembling at firſt his indignation, he told them in ſome-

what bitter language, that if they ſo much fear'd *Mahomet*, they ſhould do well to get out of the way: that he gave them free liberty to be gone; and that they ſhould have Galleys for their convenience. But then again, changing his tone, with a ſtern countenance, *But if you will ſtay with us*, added he, *never mention compoſition, and be aſſur'd, that if you continue your Cabals, I will hang ye up every Mothers Son.*

Theſe words pronounc'd with ſo much authority, were like a thunder-ſtroke to the guilty. They acknowledg'd their fault, and ſeem'd ſo aſham'd and ſorry for it, that the Grand Maſter thought them ſeverely enough puniſh'd; and thus mixing mildneſs with ſeverity, and contented with their ſubmiſſive penitence, he pardon'd them upon the ſpot. But the Knights, whom the goodneſs of the Grand Maſter had abſolutely confounded, adjudging themſelves unworthy of pardon after ſo unworthy an action, beſought him not to pardon their fault till they had waſh'd

it away with the blood of their enemies, and their own.

All this while the two Traytors laid their plots, and ſought all means to execute their deſign; the *Albanoiſe*, who knew that *Philelphus*, who was no more entruſted with the knowledg of affairs, ſince the Cabal of the *Italians*, fail'd not to inſinuate to him, that he had now nothing more to hope for in *Rhodes*; that credit with great men once loſt, was ſeldom regain'd. That uſually they to whom they had imparted their ſecrets, became hateful when once ſuſpected: that the hatred of thoſe who could revenge themſelves, unpuniſh'd, is always to be fear'd; and that the ſafeſt way, was, to ſuffer himſelf to be foreſtall'd.

There needed no more to a perſon ſo quick-witted as *Philelpho*, to divine what was aim'd at: He had always look'd upon the *Albaneſe* as a fellow of no Religion or conſcience, and this unexpected return did but augment the bad opinion which he had conceiv'd of him. For which

reason, he made no question but that this wicked wretch had been gain'd by the Infidels, and that he was return'd to *Rhodes* out of a design to do some mischief. However, the better to inform himself, he made semblance of giving ear to his arguments, and withal, hinted to him that he would be very ready to prevent his enemies, provided he might be well seconded. The Assassinate catching at this bait, frankly disclos'd himself; he declar'd the whole business to *Philelpho*, and having shew'd him the *Basha*'s Letter to hasten the execution, he promis'd him as much as could tempt the ambition or interest of a man.

How great a dread soever *Philelpho* had of so horrible a crime, he consented to it in outward appearance. But so soon as he had taken his leave of him, he went and gave the Grand Master an account of what he had understood. Immediately the *Athanese* was seiz'd upon, who was already applauding himself for the success of his enterprise. He deny'd

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all at firſt with that boldneſs and confidence which is uſual with Criminals. But ſoon after he confeſt all, touch'd either with remorſe of conſcience, or forc'd by the violence of his torments. The *Dalmatian*, who was introduc'd into the Grand Maſter's Palace by another means, and who had already corrupted one of the Officers of his Kitchen, was at the ſame time apprehended upon the confeſſion of the *Albaneſe*. They were both executed at a time, and by the people cut in pieces, in abomination of the crime. Thus the Conſpiracy fell upon the head of the Conſpirators, by a ſecret conduct of Divine Juſtice, which oftentimes makes uſe of the ſame means to deſtroy the guilty, which they take to enſnare the innocent. *Philelpho* was receiv'd into the favour of the Grand Maſter, and found by experience, that Fidelity contributes more then Treaſon, to the advancement of men.

Paleologus underſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his plot, laid aſide all other thoughts, but of carrying by force

what he could not win by treachery. To that purpose he began to raise a plat-form, upon that side where the besieged had made their intrenchments. But so soon as the Grand Master discover'd what the *Basha* intended, he commanded fifty men of the *French* and *Italian* Languages to fight the Labourers, and overturn the work in the night-time. The party commanded descended into the Moat through the casemates so privately in the night, and gain'd the upper-ground so privately with their ladders, that the *Turks* never perceiv'd them till they were just upon them. Which put the Infidels into such disorder, that they presently fled; the most part saving themselves by flight. The mutinous *Italians*, who were of the number of the fifty, and sought nothing more then to repair their honour, were the most forward to pursue them that fled; of which they kill'd ten with their own hands, and returning, demolish'd the work, and nail'd their Cannon.

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The *Baſha* was ſurpriz'd at ſo reſolute an action: and being inform'd that they were the *French* and *Italians* who had perform'd it, he could not forbear ſaying, that he had to do with people that inherited the courage of *Cæſar* and *Charlemain*. So much does true valour charm ev'n enemies themſelves, how barbarous ſoever.

The Grand Maſter did not think it enough to applaud the Victors, but gave them rewards: And to teſtify to the *Italians*, that he had no more ill thoughts of them; he expreſt himſelf publickly, that they were perſons of Honour, and had kept their word.

The bad ſucceſs which the *Turks* had upon this encounter, made them give over all thoughts of attacquing the City upon the *Italian* Poſt: And therefore they reſum'd their old deſign, and bent all their force againſt the Tower of St. *Nicholas*. Not only becauſe that being almoſt ruin'd they thought it might be the more eaſily tak'n, but becauſe they ima-

gin that there lay the deciſion of the Victory.

To that effect, the General of the *Barbarians* undertook to build a Woodd'n-Bridg that would hold ſix men a breſt, which ſhould reach from the Church of St. *Antony* to the foot of the Tower. They wrought without ceaſing in the preſence of the *Baſha*, who aſſiſted at the work himſelf. So ſoon as the Bridg was finiſh'd, a *Turk* having in the night ſecretly faſten'd an Anchor to the Rock of the Tower it ſelf with a chain of Iron, thruſt a Cable through the ring of the Anchor, to which the end of the Bridg was link'd; ſo, by drawing the Cable by ſtrength of arm, the Bridg, by degrees, might be hal'd to the very point of the Mole of St. *Nicholas*.

But the cunning of the *Turks* could not deceive the vigilance of the *Rhodians*. An Engliſh Marener, whoſe name was *Roger*, a bold and daring fellow, who diſcover'd what had paſt, threw himſelf into the Sea, when the *Turk* was retir'd; and when he had cunning-

cunningly unfaſten'd the Anchor, he left the chain upon the Rock, as if it had ſtill held: for which, the Grand Maſter immediately gave him two hunder'd Crowns in Gold. When the *Turks* began to draw the Cable, to move the Bridg forward, they ſoon perceiv'd that their ſtratagem was diſcover'd, and that the *Rhodians* were more ſubtil then they, though they were not altogether diſhearten'd. For *Paleologus*, who manag'd the enterprize himſelf, and had a wit fertil for invention, ſent for a great number of Barques to bear the Bridg upon the water, and to tranſport it inſenſibly to the Mole, as the Barques mov'd forwards. In the mean time he order'd, as well to attaque the Tower, as batter the Veſſels that lay in the Port, thirty Galleys, beſides ſeveral light Veſſels, wherein he had put the choiceſt men in his Army, and who were to begin the aſſault, while the Souldiers landed.

The Grand Maſter omitted nothing that lay in his power. He ſet a thouſand Pioneers at work, who labour'd day

day and night in cutting the Rock, to make the Moat wider, and deeper. After he had reinforc'd the Garriſon with ſuch Forces as the *Eſcalle* had brought from *Verona* at the beginning of the Siege, he poſted at the foot of the Mole a Squadron of *Spaniſh* and *German* Knights, to be ſuccour'd from thence as occaſion requir'd. But as he had reaſon to ſuſpect leſt one part of the enemy ſhould attacque the City, while the other aſſaulted St. *Nicholas's* Fort, and that the *Jews* Wall would be the place, where their Cannon had already made ſeveral breaches; he ſent thither a good number of Souldiers under the Conduct of the Knights *de Northolon*, with order not to ſally without expreſs command. After that he preſcrib'd to every one his particular duty in the Fort, yet doing nothing without mature deliberation and counſel. For he heard advice with calmneſs, and a quick apprehenſion, being perſwaded that the moſt judicious do not ſee every thing, and that the wiſeſt often miſtake, when too much

much wedded to their own judgment.

That courteſy and affability which he ſhew'd to all the World, allow'd not only to the Knights, but alſo to the meaneſt Souldiers the liberty of ſpeaking their thoughts upon all occaſions that preſented themſelves. He took delight to hear them, and ſometimes he found in the diſcourſe of a ſimple Souldier ſuch expedients and ſtratagems which perhaps he might not have thought of. Yet with all this lenity he was ſevere enough, when it behov'd him ſo to be. For two Souldiers of the Garriſon of the Fort, having reſolv'd to run away to the *Turks*, threw a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition into the Sea. They were taken in the act, and aſham'd of themſelves when they were diſcover'd. They alſo crav'd pardon of the Grand Maſter, and threw themſelves at his feet, very penitent for what they had done. But notwithſtanding all their prayers and entreaties, and all their penitence, he caus'd them to be hang'd out at the windows of the Tower,

and

and their bodies to be caſt into the Sea.

The enemy was ſo much perplex'd that he had attacqu'd the Tower in the open day, that he reſolv'd not to attacque it any more but by night. They alſo made their approaches very ſilently, contrary to their cuſtoms. But having gain'd the Mole, and being landed, they preſently open'd their throats. The choice party of the *Turks* aſſail'd the Tower where it was moſt ruin'd, making a moſt hideous noiſe, which was follow'd with the ſound of Trumpets and other Warlike Inſtruments.

The Chriſtians, who were all upon their Guards, and expected their enemies with an undaunted reſolution, vigorouſly ſuſtain'd the Shock. They fought on both ſides with an equal ardor, without any other light, then that of the Granado's and Fire-pots, that flew continually from ſide to ſide; ſo that there was a great ſlaughter in a ſhort time.

In the mean time the Galleys being come up cloſe to the Rock, and the Wood'n

Wood'n bridg being fix'd to the point of the Rock, by the aſſiſtance of the Barks, a multitude almoſt innumerable of the *Turks* gave the aſſault on that ſight where the Groſs of the Wall was fall'n down. The diſcharges that were made ſo thick upon them, brake their firſt effort, and threw headlong a good number of them that were already got up. The reſt were repuls'd by the Knights that defended that part; and there it was to be ſeen, how ſometimes valour might prevail againſt number. The Grand Maſter who was every where, encourag'd the Knights, and confidently aſſur'd them of victory provided they themſelves would but do their beſt to overcome.

While the heat of the Combat encreas'd, the Batteries which the Grand Maſter had planted againſt the bridg, took that effect as was expected. For the Bridg was cut in pieces at the ſame time when a reinforcement of Souldiers was upon it; who all periſh'd miſerably, being neither to be reliev'd by the Barks, nor able to ſave themſelves

ſelves by ſwimming, under a Shower of Stones and Arrows that follow'd the diſcharges of the Artillery.

The Enemies Galleys ceas'd not to batter the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and to tire the Knights. But they reſum'd new vigour when they perceiv'd that the Bridg was broken, and that the Aſſailents could no longer be that way reliev'd, and that which more encreas'd their reſolution was, that the Artillery of the Tower had ſunk four Galleys with ſeveral Ships of War; and that the Fire-Ships ſent againſt the reſt, had diſmay'd and diſorder'd the whole Fleet.

This However did not hinder the Infidels from being obſtinate in their aſſault; for deſpair ſometimes inſtead of abating, raiſes courage. Both ſides fell on again without remorſe, and the Combat which had already dilaſted three hours, began again with more violence then ever. The day which ſoon after appear'd did but ſerve to irretate the Combatants, while it diſcover'd the Maſſacre in the Night. The ſight of ſo many Bodies

Bodies ſtretch'd upon the Earth, or floting upon the Sea, with the ruines of the Bridg and Gallies incited the Infidels to repair their Honour, and the Chriſtians to maintain their advantages. Both ſides perform'd as much as men of Bravery could act upon ſuch occaſions; the loſs was great upon the *Turks* ſide, and their moſt conſiderable Commanders lay dead upon the place; among the reſt, *Mahomets* Son-in-law, a young Prince, very valiant and very dear to the Grand Signior. He ſtood a long time firm upon the ruins of the Tower, and kill'd ſeveral Knights with his own hand, fortifying himſelf with heaps of dead bodies. But having receiv'd ſeveral wounds, he fell as he was making a blow with his Scimitar, and expir'd in a moment after. The death of *Ibrahim* allay'd the heat of the *Barbarians*; they gave ground, mauger all the reſolution of their Geneneral, who exhorted them to revenge the death of the Grand Signior, and with his own hand kill'd ſome of thoſe that recoil'd. But the Knights re-

repell'd, and forc'd them at length to retire. This dishonourable retreat put *Paleologus* into a profound fit of sadness. When he was return'd to his Camp, he shut him self up, and there kept himself three whole days together without giving audience to any person; either to conceal his grief, or to meditate at leisure what farther course to take.

Now in regard the *Turks* had lost above two thousand five hundred men in these assaults; because the dead bodies, which either cover'd the Earth, or else were wash'd upon the Shoar by the Sea, were enough to corrupt the Air, the Grand Master caus'd all the shoar to be cleans'd, with a particular care of his own Souldiers. And after he had caus'd the Bodies to be enterr'd with all the honour that the present state of affairs would permit. He himself look'd after the dressing of the Wounded; he visited them every foot, and distributed among them with his own hands the rich spoils of the slain. And indeed the lying still of the Enemy, while their General

General lock'd himſelf up, gave the Grand Maſter leiſure to attend theſe particular duties of a Great Commander.

At length the *Baſha* appear'd abroad, and forgetting in ſome meaſure the diſhonour which had occaſion'd his receſs, he reſum'd his uſual heat and fury. However he laid aſide all thonghts of attempting any thing upon St. *Nicholas* Tower, which now he began to think impregnable, bending his whole deſign to reduce the City, by dividing the Forces of the beſieged, believing he ſhould accompliſh his work, by aſſayling it in ſeveral quarters at once. He perſwaded himſelf, that when the Walls ſhould be ruin'd in other places, as they were in the *Jews* quarter, and the *Italian* Poſt, that by a general aſſault, he ſhould not fail to enter the place; and that the beſieged would be conſtrain'd to ſurrender, when they were no longer able to reſiſt. Moreover he made no queſtion, but that the *German* Engineer, upon whom he ſtill depended, would at length find

a way to ſerve him, wherein lay the chiefeſt of his hopes.

Thereupon by his order, the beſt Pieces of Artillery were planted round about the City; and while they thunder'd upon the Walls, the *Turks*, animated by the preſence of their General, on the one ſide ſet themſelves to undermine their way through the Earth, to make themſelves Trenches cover'd with Planks and Bavins to bring their men ſecurely into the Moat. Then they rais'd Plat-forms, ſupported with Hurdles and Boughs of Trees and palliſado'd round, upon which they planted *Culverins* and other ſmall ſhot equal with the VValls and Baſtions of the City, which fire without ceaſing.

But in regard they deſign'd to give the aſſault principally upon the *Jews* VVall, where the Batteries had done moſt miſcheif, after they got into the Moat by ſuch paſſages as they had min'd under ground, they endeavour'd, by means of the noiſe and ſmoak which hinder'd the beſieged from hearing or ſeeing them, to fill

up

up the Moat with the Rubbiſh which the Cannon had looſen'd from the Wall, which being thrown together by hazard, made a kind of a ſlope aſcent. In this they labour'd with ſo much vigor and ſucceſs, that notwithſtanding all the firing from the City, that in a ſhort time the Moat was fill'd up almoſt as high as the Ravelin or Baſtion of the *Jews*, ſo that they might eaſily get up to the Wall.

The Grand Maſter, who husbanded his men againſt the Aſſault, finding that the principal Batteries of the City did little good, and that the Enemies advanc'd every day without receiving any great dammage, caus'd an extraordinary Engine to play, which was made to caſt Stones of great weight at a great diſtance; which Engine was call'd the Tribute, becauſe it was made in the time that *Mahomet* demanded a Tribute from the Knights. This Engine plac'd juſt oppoſite to the *Turks* place of working wrought wonderful effects. For the huge pieces of Marble which it threw with an unſpeakable violence, not only cruiſh'd to pieces the

Work-men upon the Terraſſes, but in ſeveral places broke into their Mines, and their cover'd Trenches, ſo that an infinite number of *Turks* were ſtifl'd in the Earth, and buried in the Ruins of their own works.

The *Rhodians* ſhouted every time the Engin play'd, and when they ſaw the Stones fly, they cry'd, *that was* Mahomet's *Tribute*. The Grand Maſter took the cheerfulneſs of his Souldiers, for a good Omen. And though he were not a little troubl'd at the laſt advance of the Enemy, yet by his familiarity with the Souldiery, he engag'd them to cleanſe the Moat which the Turk had fill'd up, and to mine a way under the Walls to get in, that they might not expoſe themſelves to the Shot of the Enemy.

The Souldiers in that good humour cheerfully obey'd the Grand Maſter; they min'd a hole into the Moat, and by degrees drew in all the Stones into the City, together with the other Rubbiſh that had fill'd up the Moat; the Grand Maſter being preſent all this while to encourage the Labourers. And finding that part

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of the *Jews* Walls where the Enemies Cannon had plaid hotteſt, was ready to fall, he terraſs'd it with all ſpeed, and rais'd a new Wall to ſupport the Earth which was not well ſettl'd.

To this part the Grand Maſter order'd great Fats of Flint Stones, and old pieces of Iron, Sacks of Sulphur, and Powder, Caldrons of boiling Oil, and whatever was proper to ſtop the fury of the *Turks* when they gave the aſſault. But beſides all this, he was deſirous to know of the *German* Engineer, what other Invention he could think of to repel the Enemy, or what new work was to be rais'd ſhould they force the Defences which were already rais'd. The *German* ſeem'd ſurpriz'd to hear himſelf ask'd ſo many queſtions, and coldly anſwer'd, that he would conſider of it, and that for the ſecurity of the place, it was requiſite he ſhould make uſe of all the Secrets of his Art. But as he was already ſuſpected, and for that a Battery which he had already rais'd in the preſence of the Grand Maſter, had tak'n no effect, ſuſpitions began to ariſe that he did not act

Cordially. But that which more encreas'd those mistrusts was, that, the *Turks* us'd several designs to discredit him in the City. They shot in Arrows with Letters fix'd to them, wherein they wrote that the *German* Engineer was a person not to be trusted; that he was a Villain, full of ill designs, believing that the hatred which they testifi'd against him would make him the more credited by the *Rhodians*.

The Grand Master not questioning but that the advice was as true, as the intention of the *Turks* was that it should be accounted false, deliver'd him up to the hands of Justice. At length, as conscience often urgeth Criminals to speak against themselves, he confess'd all; he declar'd that he came not into *Rhodes*, but to endeavour how he might deliver the Town up to the Infidels; that he came, by the express order of *Mahomet*, to observe the condition and estate of the City, and to return to him with a full account thereof, in case the *Turkish* Army should be

forc'd to raiſe the Siege: He added, that this had not been the firſt City which he had betray'd in this manner, and that his conſcience accus'd him for the murther of an infinite number of Chriſtians. Theſe confeſſions were enough for his condemnation, without any other evidence, ſo that he was hang'd in the publick Market-place of the City. This execution was ſoon ſpread in the Camp of the *Turks*; for the Grand Maſter inform'd them himſelf by Arrows ſhot over the Wall, after their example. Which he did, the rather to let them underſtand how ill ſucceſs their Spies had at *Rhodes*, and that he had follow'd the *Turks* advice.

It is not to be believ'd how extremely the *Baſha* was afflicted for the death of this Traytor. He had almoſt no other hopes left but in him ſince his laſt misfortune; for he was half aſſur'd, that the intreagues of a wit ſo crafty as his, could not fail him at laſt. However, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be altogether diſhearten'd, though before he reſolv'd

upon a general aſſault, he was reſolv'd to try the moſt gentle means he could.

To this purpoſe, after he had ſhot in ſeveral Letters into the City, aggravating, and extolling the power of the *Ottoman* Empire; he advertiz'd the people, that the Grand Signior intended no ill to the *Rhodians*; that he had only made the War to deliver them from an unjuſt and tyrannical Government; that being *Greeks*, they ought naturally to obey the Emperor of the *Rhodians*, and that they would never be at quiet ſo long as they continu'd enemies to the *Ottoman* Court. He promis'd them, if they would ſurrender, not only their lives and liberties, but alſo all ſorts of Immunities and Honours. At length he declar'd to them, that if they refus'd ſuch advantageous proffers, they muſt expect to be all put to the Sword. That the Invincible *Mahomet* was reſolv'd to drain his Empire of all its Forces, to take *Rhodes*; that he was marching thither with all ſpeed; and that there would

would be no capitulations thought of when his Highneſs arriv'd.

This Letter wrought no impreſſion upon theſe reſolutions. The wiſer ſort laugh'd at them; the meaneſt capacities took them only for pieces of craft and falſity. They all contemn'd and ſcorn'd the change which he propos'd; and ſo far they were from dreaming of a ſubmiſſion to the Grand Signior, that they made new proteſtations of fidelity to the Grand Maſter: So that nothing more contributed to retain the Prince in their obedience, and to redouble their affection to their lawful Prince, then the ſubtilty which was us'd to corrupt and gain them to a revolt.

The *Baſha* finding no effect of his Letters, to which they would not ſo much as vouchſafe an anſwer, took another way to obtain an anſwer. A runagate *Greek* preſented himſelf that night, by his order, before the Walls of the City; and calling to the Centinels with a loud voice, he told the Knights that appear'd, that the General of the *Ottoman* Army was de-

desirous to send an Embassador to the *Ottoman* Army, provided he might have the liberty to go and come with safety. Answer was return'd to the *Renegado*, that the law of Nations was inviolably observ'd at *Rhodes*; that the Embassadors had no reason to fear any thing, and that he might come to the *Jews* Moat; and that he should find in the Bulwark of the Tower, a Knight, that should return him an answer in the name of the Grand Master.

An ancient *Bey*, whose name was *Solyman*, appear'd the next morning just against the Bulwark. He was a prudent man, and besides his experience, had excellent natural parts. After he had civilly saluted the Knight, who was deputed by the Grand Master to give him audience, he began to tell him, that the *Basha*, *Paleologus*, wonder'd, that being so much straiten'd, and not receiving any relief, they should still so obstinately defend themselves. He added, that for his part, he wonder'd that persons so wise as they, should so pertina-

tinaciouſly ſeek their own ruine. That they ought to remember *Conſtantinople*, *Trebiſond*, *Negropont*, *Metelin*, and others, far ſtronger places then *Rhodes*, which could not hold out againſt *Mahomet*; that Prudence ought to regulate Valour: and that it was a folly to pretend to reſiſt the Conqueror of two Empires, twelve Kingdoms, and three hunder'd Cities. True it was, that it was an honour for him to defend his Countrey; but that it was better for him to preſerve it entire, by ſubmitting to the ſtranger, then to ruine himſelf out of a blind and unadviſed ingenuity; and therefore it was but common prudence for him to agree with *Mahomet*: That his Favourite, *Miſach Paleologus*, offer'd to manage the accommodation himſelf, and ſo to order it, that they ſhould have no reaſon to complain; and laſtly, that it was the only means to ſave their Reputation and Eſtates. He concluded his Harang in a lively and perſwaſive manner, conjuring him to have pitty upon the people, and not to be

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the causes of the massacre of so many poor creatures, the dishonour of their Daughters and Wives, and the succage of the whole Island.

The Grand Master being inform'd of *Solyman*'s propositions, did no less wonder at the *Bassha*'s Embassador, then the *Bassha* wonder'd at their resistance. That they could not apprehend that he had any compassion or tenderness for them, which he endeavour'd to destroy by all means imaginable. That Peace was not treated on with sword and poison; and that the treasons discover'd, made them suspicious of new ones: That they very well remember'd that *Trebisond*, *Constantinople*, *Negropont*, and so many other Towns, could not resist the power of *Mahomet*; but they remember'd as well, that he was a Conqueror that seldom kept his word; and that contrary to the publick Faith given, he had put to death *David Commenius*, with all his children, not to speak of the Princes of *Bosnia* and *Metelin*.

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The Knight, who ſpoke in the name of the Grand Maſter, added haughtily, that the *Soldan* of *Egypt* and *Babilon*, no leſs potent then the Emperor of the *Turks*, had often attempted *Rhodes*, without getting any thing but ſhame; that the *Rhodians* hop'd that their entrenchments would prove the tombs of the *Ottoman* Army; and that they would rather periſh in the ruines of their own Countrey then, then deliver it up to the enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. And laſtly, that neither the threats nor promiſes of *Mahomet* were ſufficient to force them to any thing which might either be againſt their profeſſion, or blaſt their honour. After this, the Knight added, that when the Army of the Infidels was return'd to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor might ſend an Embaſſador to *Rhodes*, and that then the Grand Maſter would conſider what was moſt honourable and advantageous for the Order; but that ſo long as ſuch an Army remain'd about the City, he could not heark'n to Peace. That the *Ottoman*

Troops

Troops might do like declar'd Enemies, but that for his part, he hop'd by the aſſiſtance of Heaven to let his General know that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not ſo ſoon conquer'd as other Nations.

This generous and haughty anſwer quite diſappointed all the *Baſha*'s deſigns. Shame, Honour, Deſpair, Fury rais'd in his Soul thoſe Oppoſite motions, as almoſt put him beſides himſelf. Fury at length got the upper hand, and the *Barbarian* abandoning himſelf to all the thoughts that rage could inſpire, after he had excited his Souldiers to puniſh the pride of thoſe that brav'd the ſoveraign power of the *Ottomans*, he commanded all the Engines to be ſet at work, and that they ſhould batter the City night and day without ceaſing. Never were orders better executed; for the *Turks* enliven'd by the fury of the *Baſha*, and tranſported at the ſame time with a deſire of Victory and revenge, in a ſmall time made above three thouſand five hundred Shot, which brought the Towers

Towers and Walls almoſt down to the Ground. Yet neither did this affright the *Rhodians*. For the Grand Maſter went up and down to hearten the Inhabitants and encourage the Souldiers. His confidence in God increas'd his natural Conſtancy, and ſpread in his Countenance a ſerene Air, which prov'd a happy ſucceſs.

When he thought the Enemy was ready to give the aſſault, he plac'd at the moſt dangerous place, ſtrong Squadrons of Cavalry, under the moſt skilful Commanders which he choſe himſelf. He retain'd near his own perſon, the *French* Gentlemen who had follow'd the Count of *Monteil* to *Rhodes*; and plac'd himſelf with them near the Jews quarter; from whence he might relieve all parts as need requir'd. But becauſe he repos'd all his hopes in the protection of Heaven, he firſt went and proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the Altars recommending to God the ſafety of *Rhodes*, and commanding prayers to be continually ſaid in all the Churches of the City.

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In the mean time the *Baſha* encourag'd by the Havock which his Artillery had made, after he had flatter'd his men with their Martial vertue, and had perſwaded them that they had nothing more now to take then Ruines without defence, he openly declar'd to them that they ſhould freely have the pillage of the Town. He commanded them to put all to the Sword, except the young Infants, whom he permitted them to preſerve either for their own benefit, or the Grand Signiors Militia. He ordain'd alſo that all the men that ſhould eſcape the Sword of the Muſſel men, ſhould be empal'd, to which purpoſe he ſet upright a thouſand Stakes in the Field.

The *Turks* reviv'd anew by this apparent facility of the enterprize, and the hope of plunder, with impatience expected the hour of aſſault with their Arms in their hands, and Chains about their waſts, to bind thoſe that they ſhould not kill. Nor could the *Baſha* hardly retain them one day more, that he ſhot continually at the Town to level the Fortifications of the Beſieged.

At length the 27*th* of *July*, he gave the ſignal juſt at break of day, by the ſhooting of a Mortar piece. Immediately the *Ottoman* Army ran furiouſly on, invoking the name of their falſe Prophet, and aſſail'd the City on every ſide with moſt dreadful ſhouts and yells, that made all the Sea-ſhoar, and all the Hills to ring again. Nevertheleſs the main onſet was giv'n to the *Jews* Wall, where the Ruines, which had fill'd up the Ditch again, made the way eaſy. Then an innumerable multitude mounted the Walls, and fell on with that fury, that the Chriſtians who kept the Walls, were quite overlaid with number, and almoſt all ſlain. The Turks puft up with this ſucceſs, drove back the reſt, and ſet up ſeven of their colours upon the walls, before the Chriſtians could get up upon a ſlope, made with the Ruins of the Wall on their ſide. The Knights and Souldiers that firſt aſcended fell upon the *Turks* with ſuch a fury that they forc'd them to retire. But the *Turks* being preſently reinforc'd, both parties diſputed a long

time for the Wall; they on both ſides with great heat and courage. But when the Combat grew hot, and that the victory ſeem'd to encline to the Infidels, the Count of *Monteil* came into the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians; but notwithſtanding all the effects of their valour, they could not drive back their Enemies, whom the preſence of the *Baſha* made undaunted, and not being able to withſtand ſo great a number as fell upon them.

In the mean time the report which was ſpread that the Enemy had carry'd the *Jews* Quarter, ſtruck terror and confuſion every where. But ſo ſoon as the Grand Maſter ſaw this beginning of a Rout, with a half pike in his hand, he mounted the Wall, having already kili'd ſome that were got down, and conſidering that the loſs of all depended upon this poſt, he reſolv'd to hazard all, or regain it. The old Commanders and young Knights that were near to his perſon, mounted after; at what time the Grand Maſter breaking into a thick Bat-

Battalion of the *Turks*, with an aſtoniſhing fury, charg'd them ſo rudely, that they were ſoon clear'd off.

No ſooner was it known to what danger the Grand Maſter had expoſ'd himſelf, but the Burgeſſes of the Town ran with all ſpeed to diſingage him, or to dye with him. The Women alſo who were for the moſt part habited in mens apparel, appear'd upon the Ramparts to terrify the Aſſailants, follow'd their husbands, and pouring down ſcalding Oil, Flints, and old Iron upon the *Turks*; while others were ſo hardy as to throw Wild fire, and others to take up the Arms of the Slain, and fight in their ſteads they did very good ſervice. On the other ſide the Archers which the Grand Maſter had plac'd in ſuch parts of the Wall which the Cannon had a little ſpar'd; ſhot continually upon thoſe that came with freſh recruits.

The *Barbarians* fell in great heaps every where, yet dearly ſelling their lives, but more eſpecially making a great ſlaughter about the Grand Maſter. But the preſent Image of death

redoubl'd his zeal, and no way diminiſh'd his valour. *Let us dye, my dear Brethren*, ſaid he, *rather then retire, 'tis for the faith, 'tis for heaven that we fight, our death ſhall be honour'd among men, and precious in the ſight of God.* His example, and his words, ſo encourag'd the Souldiers, that mauger the obſtinate reſiſtance of the enemy, they regain'd the Field, and made themſelves abſolute Maſters of it, after a diſpute of two hours. The Knight *de Montholon*, being the firſt that tore up the *Ottoman* Banners, and flung them to the ground.

As much affrighted as the *Barbarians* ſeem'd, and as much wearied as they were indeed, ſhame or honour caus'd them to return to the Charge; and the *Baſha* drew out a Body of old *Janizaries* to ſecond the aſſault. Now, in regard the Grand Maſter was known by his gilded Arms, and the throng of remarkable perſons that environ'd him; the *Baſha* commanded that they ſhould pick him out particularly. Theſe freſh

freſh men threw themſelves, like beaſts of prey, upon the Chriſtians; & having forc'd their way through the Pikes and Swords, were making directly to the Grand Maſter, if the Vicount of *Monteil*, who ſaw them coming, had not put a ſtop to them; who flew upon them with the moſt valiant of the *Auvernian* Poſt: In the mean time ten or twelve of the boldeſt of the *Turks* joyning with thoſe that were at handy-ſtrokes with the Grand Maſter, they laid at him with ſeveral blows; ſo that his arms being broken, he receiv'd five wounds: however, he fought ſtill very valiantly. But the Knights perceiving he was wounded, fell on ſo furiouſly, that the enemy firſt began to give ground; and laſtly, to betake them to their heels.

As for the *Turks* who were got upon the Poſts of the other Languages, where they found equal reſiſtance; ſo ſoon as they ſaw the *Jews* Wall forſaken, they quitted their attaques, and fled in the greateſt diſorder in the World: except three

hunder'd of the ſtouteſt, who ſtaid upon the Walls, and being no longer able to defend themſelves, fell half dead into the City, where they were maſſacred by the people.

At the ſame time the *Rhodians* iſſu'd out after them in throngs, and purſu'd them to their very Camp, making a moſt fatal ſlaughter among them. The *Turks* alſo kill'd one another to make room for themſelves; ſo much they dreaded to fall into the hands of the Chriſtians. The *Baſha* did all he could by threats and promiſes to ſtay their flight: their fear would not let them take notice of either, and he was at length conſtrain'd to fly to the ſhore, that he might be near his Galleys.

Khodgia Afendy, who has wrote in the *Turkiſh* Language the Siege of *Rhodes*, attributes the rout of the Infidels to the avarice of their General: For he ſays, that the Souldiers, more covetous of booty then blood, being ready to enter the Town, and preparing themſelves to plunder, where they hop'd to find great riches; the

the *Baſha*, to preſerve the whole for himſelf, caus'd proclamation to be made, that the treaſure of *Rhodes* was the demeans of the *Ottoman* Court, and that the generous *Muſſulmen* were to ſeek nothing more in fight then the honour of ſerving the Emperor; however, he would not fail to recompence thoſe that ſhould do their duty, as he would puniſh thoſe that ſhould take the leaſt rag. The Hiſtorian adds, that this Proclamation ſo cool'd the courage of the Souldiers, that they thought of nothing after that, but how to ſave their lives. But we may eaſily conjecture, by the examination of his words, that he does not ſpeak truth according to the manner of the *Turks*, who make no ſcruple of lying, when it is either to excuſe and cover the cowardice, or diſhonour of their Nation. For it has been the cuſtom of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and their *Baſha's*, always to abandon ſuch Towns as were taken by aſſault to the plunder of the Souldiers: So that it is not likely that *Paleologus*, who us'd all the means

he could, to make himself Master of the place; and who was naturally magnificent, should of a sudden take to a course so contrary to his design and humour.

In the mean time the Grand Master, who felt himself very much weaken'd by his wounds, return'd into the City all bloody; after whom follow'd the victorious Knights with the Imperial Standard, which they had tak'n from before the Pavilion of the *Basha*: but the condition of their Prince put them into such a consternation, that they could not rejoyce for their Victory. One of his wounds was accounted mortal, and the second day they began to despair of his life.

So soon as the *Basha* had recover'd the Sea-shore with the remains of his Army, he never stood to consult whether he should raise the Siege or no. Whatever confidence he had had till then, in the fortune of *Mahomet* and his own, he despair'd to take the place after so many vain assults; and understanding that he had lost above nine

nine thouſand men ſlain out-right, and above fifteen thouſand wounded, which were not in the fight; he took care of nothing more then how to ſave the reſt by retiring.

While the *Turks* were embarquing their Engines of War, and all their Baggage, there appear'd two great Ships, which *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, had ſent to the relief of *Rhodes*. *Paleologus*, who ſaw them making to the Port with full ſail, conſidering what a ſhame it would be to let them enter the Port, ſhot at them with ſuch pieces of Artillery, as were not embarqu'd; not being able to aſſault them with his Galleys, becauſe the winds were contrary. The ſhot brought one of the Maſts of one of the Ships by the board, but did the other no harm. But the wind changeing, and the Sea growing rough of a ſudden, they both came to an Anchor juſt againſt the Port, till the tempeſt forc'd them to make all the ſail they could to get in. The Ship, whoſe Maſt was broken, was the more fortunate, and ſteer'd ſo well, that ſhe

eaſily

got in. The other being carri'd off by ſtorm, fell back into the road; ſo that ſhe was the next day very near the Infidels Fleet. The *Baſha*, unwilling to let go a prize that he thought in his hands, ſent out twenty Galleys to ſeize her; and commanded the Captain of the Galleys to go himſelf. The Chriſtians prepare themſelves for fight. The twenty Galleys ſurround the Veſſel, and thunder upon her on every ſide; and by an incredible kindneſs of divine protection, did them much more miſchief then ſhe receiv'd her ſelf. However, ſome that were beſt mann'd fetch'd her up by the ſtrength of their oars; and having grappl'd her, a whole throng of *Barbarians* endeavour'd to enter upon all her quarters. But the *Spaniards* and *Italians* kept their ground with ſo much reſolution, that after a bloody Fight of three hours, the *Turks* were conſtrain'd to give way: and the death of the General of the Galleys ſo abated their courage, that they wholly forſook the Veſſel.

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Then it was, that *Miſach Paleologus*, being out of all hope, and fearing all the worſt of fortune, gave order to weigh Anchor, and be gone. And that which haſted his departure, was, that he underſtood by his Spies, that the Chriſtians expected a very conſiderable relief, and that the Veſſels of *Ferdinand* were but the fore-runners of the Chriſtian Prince's Fleet. So that the *Ottoman* Fleet put out to Sea the 18*th* of *Auguſt*, and ſteer'd toward the Port of *Fiſco*; where having ſet the Army a-ſhore, they continu'd their courſe toward *Conſtantinople*.

The Victorious Ship enter'd the Port of *Rhodes* almoſt at the ſame that the *Ottoman* Fleet ſet ſail. And now it is no difficult thing to apprehend the joy of the *Rhodians*, to ſee themſelves ſo well deliver'd, after a ſiege of ſixty days. The whole Port reſounded with ſhouts of gladneſs: and the noiſe of the Bells, mix'd with that of the Trumpets, made a pleaſing harmony, which proclaim'd the raiſing of the Siege to all the people of

of the Iſland. But that which moſt contributes to the publick rejoycing, was, that the Grand Maſter began to recover; whether the Chirurgeons were deceiv'd in their judgments, or that the wound, which they deem'd to be mortal, were not ſo indeed; or whether there were ſomething divine and miraculous in the cure. However, in that languiſhing eſtate, wherein as yet he continu'd, he commanded ſolemn Proceſſions to be made for three days; and that Maſſes ſhould be ſaid in all the Churches of the City, for the ſouls of the Knights and Souldiers that had been ſlain during the Siege.

So ſoon as he was cur'd of his wounds, and that he had ſtrength enough to walk, he went himſelf to return thanks to God at the feet of the Altars. And becauſe he was perſwaded that the protection of the Virgin had ſav'd *Rhodes*, he made a Vow to build a magnificent Church, by the name of St. *Maries* of the Victory, neer the *Jews* Wall, where the *Turks* were put to the rout. Nor did

did he delay the execution of his vows; for being ſomewhat better ſettl'd in his health, he caus'd himſelf to be carri'd to the place, and order'd the foundations to be laid in his preſence. They labour'd might and main at this great work, ſo ſoon as the fortifications of the Town were repair'd. And becauſe the Victory was won upon the day wherein the *Greeks* ſolemnize the Feſtival of St. *Pantaleon*, the Grand Maſter built a ſumptuous Chappel for the exerciſe of the *Grecian* Ceremonies, in honour of that holy Martyr; to the end that the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, celebrating at the ſame time the holy Myſteries, they might return thanks both together, in both Churches, for ſo renown'd a Victory.

Nor was his devotion enclos'd within the Walls of *Rhodes*. He founded a perpetual Maſs every week at the great Altar of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*; to preſerve until the end of time, the memory of ſo happy a ſucceſs, and in ſome meaſure to make an

an immortal acknowledgment there-of, in the ſame place where the Order of St. *John* had its firſt Inſtitution.

But becauſe, that having implor'd the aid of St. *John Baptiſt*, when he ſally'd to the Combat, he found in his Souldiers, and in himſelf, a new courage, which could not ſpring but from above; he reſolv'd to build a Church in *Italy*, in Honour of the happy Precurſor, whoſe body *Julian* the Apoſtate caus'd to be burnt, and whoſe precious aſhes lye in the Cathedral Church of St. *Lawrence* at *Genoa*.

This Structure time brought to perfection; and it was built neer to the Chappel, where thoſe holy Reliques are expos'd to the veneration of the people. To which, that he might do the greater Honour, he alſo built a Convent neer to the ſaid Chappel, for twelve religious perſons of the Order, to ſing Divine Service, to ſay Maſſes for the propagation of the Faith, for the Benefactors of the Order, and the Souls of the Grand Ma-

Maſters deceas'd: to which end he employ'd the Revenue of ſeveral Commanderies, and his own, according to the power which he had receiv'd from the See of *Rome*.

He wrote at the ſame time to the Princes of Chriſtendom, to give them advice of the Victory, and to engage them to ſend him relief, in caſe the *Turks* ſhould make any new attempts, and that the Knights ſhould be conſtrain'd to hold out another Siege. But becauſe that *Ferdinand*'s Ships had brought him a Brief from *Sixtus*, which Brief contain'd ſuch expreſſions, as teſtifi'd how much the Pope did intereſt himſelf in the affairs of *Rhodes*, he ſent to *Rome* the Prior of *Capua*, and the Commander of *Aliaga*, with the Title of Embaſſadors Extraordinary. He charg'd them alſo in their way, to wait upon the King of *Naples*, and to tell him how much the Knights were oblig'd to him for his aid. That in his own particular, he highly acknowledg'd his Favour; and

and as long as he liv'd, ſhould ſeek all occaſions to teſtify his gratitude. Nor was the Grand Maſter thus contented to declare his obligations to *Ferdinand*; he alſo gave ſubſtantial marks of it to *Lewis Palafox*, a Gentleman of *Aragon*, and Captain of the Ship, which had ſo valiantly defended the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and the *Jews* Wall. For beſides that, he preſented him with a Diamond of a very great price; and made his natural Son a Knight, as being a young Gentleman of great hopes and merit. He permitted him to carry in chief, above the Arms of his Family, the Arms of the Order, as an authentick proof of the Services which he and his had done, during the Siege.

He alſo granted other conſiderable Favours both to the Knights and Souldiers, which had moſt ſignaliz'd themſelves: And becauſe the Countrey was utterly laid waſt; and for that the miſeries of the people were not ended with the War,

War, he caus'd Corn to be diſtributed to the Iſlanders in great plenty; and diſcharg'd them for ſeveral years of all ſorts of Taxes.

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Fourth.

THE *Ottoman* Fleet carri'd the news of their own misfortune home themſelves to *Conſtantinople*. And *Mahomet* was as deeply ſenſible of this misfortune, as a wiſe and ambitious Prince poſſibly could be, who had not proſper'd in an honourable Enterprize, which he undertock not

but upon great consideration. Though he were a great Master of himself, and one that could dissemble his particular anguish of mind; yet upon the sight of the principal Captains of the Army, and in that transportment, he was about to have put them all to death. The *Basha*, *Misach Paleogo*, his favourite, presum'd to tell him with that freedom which his favour allow'd him, that they had nothing to accuse him either for his conduct or his courage; and that the *Mussul-men* had done as much as men could do. He was glad to tell him withal, that the Knights of *Rhodes* were men of an extraordinary valour; and that there appear'd in the Air a bright-shining Troop, whose blows neither the *Turks* could shun, nor abide their looks. But all these reasons gave the Grand Signior no satisfaction. He drove his Favourite out of his sight, and was so far from giving him the Vest of Honour, which he was wont to bestow upon his Generals and Visiers, at their returns from military Expeditions, that he com-

commanded him to retire to the *Sangiacat*ſhip of *Gallipoli*. Nor indeed had *Mahomet* any other way to cheer up himſelf for this misfortune, but by believing that the conqueſt of *Rhodes* was reſerv'd to him alone, and that it belong'd only to him to tame the Knights, and their Grand Maſter.

They were ſoon inform'd at *Rhodes* of the preparations which were made at *Conſtantinople* for a new Expedition; nor was the Grand Maſter idle in preparing to receive them.

But while the *Rhodians* were repairing the defences of their City, there happen'd extraordinary accidents which chang'd the whole courſe of their proceedings. A little while after the Fleet of the *Turks* was departed, there was heard over the whole Iſle a kind of ſubterraneal noiſe, like to that of thunder that begins to grumble in a cloud. This was a prognoſtication of thoſe Earthquakes with which the Iſland was terrifi'd for many months. The moſt firm foundations of the City were ſhak'n by the firſt ſhogs, and almoſt

over-turn'd by the ſecond ſhakings, which happen'd one after another; and which many times did not give over, but only to begin again with greater force.

The half of the Fort of St. *Nicholas* tumbl'd down one night, and the ruines of the Tower overwhelm'd moſt part of the Souldiers in the Tower. As the exhalation that caus'd theſe motions grew to be more and more enrag'd by the attempts which it made to get looſe out of the caverns wherein it was enclos'd, the Earth-quake encreas'd every day. The Earth rear'd it ſelf up, and violently bounded forward in ſome places; it cleft and open'd in others. Nothing but ruine and abyſſes appear'd every where; nothing was heard but the cries of affrighted people, that run up and down to ſave themſelves, and yet no where found ſecurity. In ſhort, it ſeem'd that the Iſland of *Rhodes*, which ſome believ'd was produc'd out of the Sea, to make the Earth tremble; was now juſt ready to periſh by the ſame accident

cident for which it was created.

To add to their affliction, theſe tremblings of the Earth were accompani'd with ſuch prodigious and impetuous ſhowers of rain, as if a ſecond deluge had been come to overflow the World. Beſides all this, the Sea ſwell'd ten foot high; and having ſurpaſt its bounds, over-run the City with ſuch an impetuoſity and noiſe, as if it came to ſwallow it up. The *Rhodians* believ'd themſelves loſt, when they beheld how the very Elements conſpir'd their ruine, at a time as they were threaten'd again with the whole force of the *Turks*. Nay, the Grand Maſter himſelf would have had much ado perhaps to have ſuſtain'd himſelf with his natural conſtancy, had not his confidence in God fortifi'd him againſt ſo many calamities. Upon this Chriſtian confidence it was, that he was often heard to ſay, like *Moſes* and *David*. *The God of Battel is our fortreſs; when I walk in the midſt of the ſhadow of death, I will fear none ill; becauſe, thou Lord, art with me.*

He exhorted all the people to take heart, but all his exhortations ſignifi'd little; for the people ſenſible of what they felt, abandon'd themſelves to thoſe impreſſions which ſuch ſort of calamities produce. And that which encreas'd the publick conſternation, was, that about that time *Mahomet* was ſet out of *Conſtantinople* at the head of three hunder'd thouſand men, reſolv'd to conquer *Italy* or *Egypt*, ſo ſoon as he had conquer'd *Rhodes*. He croſs'd the *Thracian Boſphorus*, and took his way for *Bithynia*; with a deſign to croſs all *Aſia* the leſs, and to come to the Port of *Lycia* before the Knights ſhould know of his march. But Heaven is pleas'd ſometimes at one blow to bring down the pride of the Grandees of the Earth. This proud Prince, who thought upon nothing but new conqueſts, was taken away by a violent Cholick in the midd'ſt of his Army, neer to *Nicomedia*. He was three and fifty years old; ſo vigorous, that he endur'd all the travels and labours of War without

out any detriment to his health; the anguiſh that perplex'd him for raiſing the Seige of *Rhodes* did not a little contribute to his death. He always appear'd melancholly after that miſfortune; and upon the very naming the word Grand Maſter, he fell into ſuch dull fits as made him inſupportable to himſelf. *William Caourſin*, who liv'd at that time, and was Vice-Chancellor of *Rhodes*, makes him to dye after a very ſtrange manner. For he reports in his memoires, that *Mahomet* paſſing thorough a Forreſt of *Bithynia*, a young Man clad in white, of a ſhape ſomething more then *Human*, preſented himſelf before him, with a viſage burning with anger, and a flaming Sword in his hand, who after he had beheld him with a fiery and menacing eye, *Moſt impious among men*, ſaid he, *I will run thee thorough with this Sword.* At which words *Mahomet* fell trembling from his Horſe, as if he had been ſtruck with a Thunder-bolt. That at the ſame time he ſuffer'd moſt bitter torments, which caus'd him to cry out moſt

moſt dreadfully, and that ſoon after he died, blaſpheming the name of Jeſus, and curſing the *Rhodians*. Whether the Apparition were true or no, certain it is, that this Enemy of the Croſs dy'd the ſame day that the Church celebrates the feſtival of the finding the Holy Croſs, and that as he was expiring, he ſeveral times utter'd the word *Rhodes*, and commanded in the extremity of his pangs, that this Inſcription ſhould be written over his Tomb. *My deſign was to have taken* Rhodes *and ſubdued* Italy.

The death of the *Ottoman* Emperor was the ſafety of Chriſtendome, and particularly of the *Rhodian* Territories. So that when the Grand Maſter heard the news, he gave thanks in publick to Heaven, that the Order was deliver'd from ſo powerful an adverſary.

But that which more encreas'd the joy of the Knights was this, that the City of *Otrantum* was retaken from the *Turks* in *Puglia*, ſo ſoon as the death of *Mahomet* was known *Ach-*

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mat Baſha, one of the greateſt men of the Empire, had made himſelf Maſter of this City the year before; and had left a ſtrong Garriſon therein, and ſettl'd it in a condition not to be aſſaulted. The taking of *Otrantum* made all *Italy* ſhake. And the vigorous holding out of the *Turks* againſt the *Neapolitans* that beſieg'd it, began to make *Rome* ſenſible of her danger; but when the beſieged underſtood the death of the Grand Signior, their courages fail'd them, and they ſurrendred to the Duke of *Calabria*, Son to the King of *Naples*, not ſtaying for the ſuccour of five and twenty thouſand men which *Achmat* was bringing himſelf. Theſe Tydings were acceptable to the Church; and then it was that the *Rhodians* began to take breath after ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes. The Earth grew ſteady, and the Sea retir'd, ſo that they had the liberty to repair all the ruins of the City. But as the corruption of manners uſually proceeds from the diſorders of War, the Grand Maſter undertook a reformation of the

the Knights and people. To that end he made ſevere Laws againſt thoſe vices that wound Chriſtian Piety, and civil ſociety, upon which accompt he forbad all manner of unlawful Games. Theſe Laws were publickly proclaimed, and what was thought almoſt incredible, as readily obey'd; but a Soveraign finds no great trouble to make his Subjects obey him when he commands nothing but what he practiſes himſelf.

While all things were calm at *Rhodes*; the two parties that ſtrove to ſucceed in the *Ottoman* Empire, put all *Turky* into a confuſion. *Mahomet* at his death left two Sons behind him, *Bajazet* and *Zizim*, for *Muſtapha* their elder brother was put to death by the command of his Father, That young *Sultan*, who who was both ſtout and valiant, and had not long before won a very ſignal victory from *Uſſum Caſſan* King of *Perſia*, coming to the *Ottoman* Court about the particular affairs of his government of *Amaſia*, fell ſo deeply in love with the wife of *Achmat*

mat, that famous *Baſha* that took *Otrantum*, that one day in the hight of his paſſion, he offer'd her violence as ſhe was going into the Bath. *Achmat* complain'd to *Mahomet*, and tore his Turbant and his Veſt, to expreſs his grief. *What is that you complain of*, haughtily anſwer'd the Grand Signior to the *Baſha*, *My Son has done nothing but abus'd the Wife of one of my Slaves.* However to give *Achmat* ſatisfaction, he gave immediate order that *Muſtapha* ſhould be ſtrangl'd, at the ſame time acting the part of a cruel Father and a juſt King.

Thus *Bajazet* and *Zizim* remained the only Heirs of the Crown. The firſt govern'd *Paphlagonia*, and reſided not far from the Black Sea. The Second had the Government of *Liconia*, in *Aſia* the leſs, ſo that they were both at a great diſtance from their father when he dy'd. They had ever been kept a ſunder the one from the other, and had never ſeen one another but once, out of a piece of policy of *Mahomet*, for fear leaſt jealouſy ſhould divide themſelves, or

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a ſtrickt amity, unite them both againſt him. They were of a different Character, and diſpoſitions reſembling in nothing but the paſſion which they had to raign. *Bajazet*, to whom the *Turks* gave the name of *Lightning* or *Thunder*, by no means made his Title good, as being of a ſpirit altogether poor and mean, and one that minded nothing leſs then War. *Zizim*, whoſe name ſignifies love, on the contrary had a lively Wit, a noble Soul, and was moſt generouſly enclin'd. He was not ſo handſome as *Bajazet*; but there appear'd in his Perſon, and in his Countenance, ſuch a mixture of Grandeur, ſweetneſs, and haughtineſs mix'd together, that ſurpaſs'd beauty it ſelf. He delighted extreamly in hunting, and all Military exerciſes. And yet he had no leſs a love for learning then he had for Arms. He underſtood Languages, among the reſt the *Greek* and *Italian*; he ſpent ſome part of his time in reading of Hiſtories; and he was then writing the Story of his Fathers Life, when the news came to him of his

his death. He was very zealous for the Mahumetan Religion, yet not with that head-ſtrong paſſion, but that he had a great kindneſs for the Knights of *Rhodes*, whom his Father mortally hated, Beſides all that, he had a particular affection for the Grand Maſter, from the very time that the firſt overtures of peace were made, and he had always a deſign to make as ſtrict a league with him as the law of the Muſſel-men would permit. And indeed there is ſuch a coherence between the Story of the Grand Maſter and *Zizim*, that I cannot forbear to relate what happne'd to the two Brothers, before the Knights did intereſt themſelves altogether in the quarrel.

So ſoon as *Bajazet* and *Zizim* underſtood of the death of the Emperor. They both of them minded nothing elſe but how to get into poſſeſſion of the Empire. But before they took the Field, the partakers of each ſide at *Conſtantinople*, had taken Arms, and declar'd ſome for the One, and ſome for the Other. The heads of each party made out the beſt they could

could the right of both Princes. They that took *Bajazets* part, cry'd out that nature ſpake in his behalf, for that being the eldeſt, he could not in juſtice be depriv'd of the Crown. The Friends of *Zizim* pretended that a lazy ſlothful Prince as *Bajazet*, that gave not his mind to buſineſs, but led a diſſolute life, did not deſerve to ſucceed to the great *Mahomet*. They maintain'd that *Zizim*, being endowed from Heaven with all the qualities that made a Prince worthy of an Empire, ought to be preferr'd in the ſucceſſion to his Father. And as to the right of Elderſhip they added, that *Bajazet* indeed was born before *Zizim*; but that for that very reaſon he had no right to the Imperial Crown. *For*, ſaid they, *the firſt is only the Son of* Bajazet, *the other is the Son of the Emperor*. Bajazet *was born while* Amurath *liv'd, and before Bajazet bare the Scepter. But* Zizim *came into the World, when his Father was in poſſeſſion of all the Turkiſh dominions, and after he had conquer'd the Empire of the* Greeks;

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ſo that it might be truly ſaid, that this young Prince was born upon the Throne; and that Nature, as well as Fortune, had deſign'd him for the Empire.

Both parties thus heated, fell at length from diſputes to blows, the people taking part according as they were ſeduc'd and inveagl'd by the *Janizaries* and *Baſha's*; inſomuch that they plunder'd one part of the Palace, and the Imperial Treaſure, and one of the Grandees of the Court was ſlain in a popular inſurrection, wherein there was much b'ood ſpilt.

While this was the condition of affairs at *Conſtantinople*, and that the two Princes were preparing to make good their claims by force of Arms, the Grand Maſter thought it very convenient to take the advantage of *Mahomet*'s death, and of the diviſion of the Princes, and to make an attempt upon the Iſland of *Meteline*. It was then one of the richeſt Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, and the moſt commodious for Knights, being ſeated directly againſt the mouth of the Straight of

Gallipoli. The broyls of *Turkey* made the enterprize eaſy. For there was no likelihood of any relief by Sea from the Infidels, when their Forces were all employ'd in a Domeſtick War. Theſe conſiderations encourag'd the Grand Maſter to make ready with all ſpeed the Ships of the Order, and to ſpare for nothing that might procure the ſucceſs of ſuch an important deſign. The Commander *de Jales*, who at that time kept cruzing the *Archipelago* with two Galleys, had order to attend the Fleet. When it was ready, it ſet Sail under the Conduct of the Commander *de Carmandin*, Baily of *Lango*. But ſickneſs happening in the Fleet, unſeaſonable weather, and contrary winds diſappointed a deſign, the ſucceſs whereof ſeem'd to be infallible. But that which the Grand Maſter contriv'd to revenge himſelf upon the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, better ſucceeded. For that ſame treacherous Prince having no regard to the Peace, according to the cuſtom and genius of the *Mahumetans*, had ſent certain Pyrats to take

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the Veſſels, and plunder the Ships belonging to the Order, as if open War had been declar'd. Thereupon the Grand Maſter order'd his Galleys to cruize along the coaſts of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and to make all the havock they could upon a faithleſs Barbarian. Which was ſo effectually perform'd, that *Caerbei*, the *Soldan*, ſoon repented him of his perjury.

In the mean while *Bajazet*'s party grew ſtrong. For while the two *Sultans* were upon their march to diſpute for the Crown by force of Arms, *Achmat*, who return'd to *Conſtantinople* when the *Turks* had forſaken *Otrantum*, and who was a perſon of great authority in the Empire, abſolutely declar'd for *Bajazet*; whether it were that he was convinc'd of the juſtice of his cauſe, or that he hop'd to have the Government in his own hands, under a weak Prince. As he was a man prudent and bold, equally skill'd in Politicks as War; after he had partly threaten'd, partly careſs'd the more factious ſort, he appeas'd the Sedition by ſetting

upon the Throne one of *Bajazett*'s Sons, of about thirteen years of age, whoſe name was *Sultan Corcut*, and proclaiming Emperor the Father of the young Prince. *Bajazett*, who had already tak'n ſhipping, ſoon came to *Conſtantinople* by the black Sea. *Achmat* receiv'd him at the head of the *Baſha's* and *Janizaries* that he had gain'd, who having all of them ſaluted him Emperor, they conducted him to the Imperial Palace, ſurrounded with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, who acknowledg'd him the lawful Heir of *Mahomet*.

Zizim's Adherents were vex'd to the very hearts to ſee his enemy upon the Throne; but the abſolute power that *Achmat* had gain'd, forc'd them to diſſemble their reſentment, and to comply with the advancement of *Bajazett*. However, they held private Caballs together, and invited the young *Sultan* to make all the haſte he could. *Zizim*, who had not the convenience of the Sea, but was to march through *Bithynia*, did not underſtand till he was upon the road,

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of the Coronation of his Brother. This unwelcome news did nothing abate the courage of the young Prince. He believ'd the people, whoſe inclinations are prone to change, and often contrary to themſelves, would turn of his ſide, ſo ſoon as he ſhould appear at *Conſtantinople*; and he believ'd it ſo much the more, becauſe that *Bajazet* had been always leſs belov'd then he. With theſe hopes he march'd in all haſte towards *Pruſia*, the ancient reſidence of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and made himſelf Maſter of the City, with thoſe few Troops which he had brought with him out of *Lycaonia*. This firſt ſucceſs ſeem'd to promiſe more. And therefore, that he might not be wanting to his own good fortune, he labours, by means of his friends, to draw to his party the Lords and Grandees of the Port; and to regain the affection of the *Janizaries*, got what Money he could together, and reinforc'd his Army from day to day.

Bajazet, in whom deſire of rule had augmented both his wit and his

courage, ſpar'd for nothing on his ſide, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Sultan* his Brother. And fearing leſt *Zizim* ſhould make himſelf Maſter of all *Aſia*, he ſent *Achmat* againſt him with a numerous Army, and made up of the old Souldiers of the Army. The *Baſha*, who deſir'd nothing more then to finiſh what he had begun, makes all poſſible haſte, and encamps not far from *Pruſia*, in a woody plain, reſolv'd to carry the place, and to get the Prince into his power, who was the only obſtacle to the repoſe of the new Emperor.

Zizim, who had not time to fortify the City, and wanted proviſions to hold out a Siege, rather choſe to take the field, then to be ſhut up in a weak and unprovided place. Thereupon out he marches at the head of his Cavalry; and having diſcover'd *Achmat*'s Troops, which he did not think ſo nigh at hand, he reſolv'd to give Battel immediately. Thus reſolving to venture all for a Crown, he marches directly toward the enemy, telling his Souldiers that there was

was no other way but either to conquer, or dye. *Achmat* ſtood him with a wonderful reſolution; and after he had born the fury of the firſt ſhock, he charg'd him ſo rudely, that the *Aſiaticks* were ſoon put to the rout. The moſt part of them were raw Souldiers, ill diſciplin'd, effeminate, and more accuſtom'd to repoſe and luxury, then to the noiſe of arms and labour. The Prince return'd to the charge with ſome of the choice of his Army, but they periſh'd almoſt all by his ſide, and he himſelf had either been ſlain, or tak'n, had not night come on. Thereupon, favour'd by the darkneſs, he got into the next wood, hoping to rally his Troops, and to bring them on again the next day. But underſtanding that the moſt part of his people were either priſoners, or ſlain, he took a ſudden reſolution to fly for ſuccour to the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, the King of *Cilicia*, and the Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*. To this purpoſe, with only forty Horſe, marching day and night through unknown places, at length he got into

Syria. Being come to *Jeruſalem*, he went to viſit the Temple of *Solomon*, to which the *Mahumetans* give a particular veneration; and there proſtrated at the foot of the Altar, he beſought the Divine Majeſty to favour his juſt deſigns; after which, continuing his journey through the Deſerts of *Arabia*, he came to *Caire*.

Cairbey receiv'd *Zizim*, not as a Fugitive, and deſpoyl'd Prince, but as a great King, the Son of a moſt famous Conqueror, and of the moſt Puiſſant Emperor that ever the *Turks* had. When he underſtood that the Prince was at hand, he ſent before the moſt conſiderable *Emirs* and *Mamalukes* of his Court. And at the ſame time he went to receive him at the Gate of his Palace, contrary to the cuſtome of the *Soldans*; nor were there any ſort of honours or careſſes with which he did not entertain him. *Zizim*, ſo much the better pleas'd with his entertainment, by how much the more he look'd upon the lowneſs of his condition, made his returns to the civilities of the Chirur-

Chirurgeon, as ſhew'd his acknowledgment, but teſtifi'd nothing of weakneſs, or want of courage. After he had declar'd to him the reaſon of his coming, he told him withal, that he apply'd himſelf to him, as to the moſt zealous obſerver of the *Mahumetan* Law. He conjur'd him by the Temple of *Solomon*, and the Sepulcher of the Prophet *Mahomet*, which were both in his Dominions, to aſſiſt an unfortunate perſon with his counſels and his forces, againſt the violences of a barbarous Brother, who had depriv'd him of the Crown, and alſo ſought to take away his life. The *Soldan*, mov'd by the diſcourſe of *Zizim*, made him all manner of offers. But as *Cairbey* was a Politick Prince, who would not eaſily engage in dangerous affairs, being rather a lover of quiet and repoſe, he promis'd him firſt to labour an accommodation with *Bajazet*; and to keep his word, he diſpatch'd away an *Emir* to *Conſtantinople*. The Embaſſy was no way pleaſing to *Zizim*, who well knew that ſuch kind of differences were

were not to be determin'd but by force. But the poſture of his affairs, and the conſideration of his wife and children that came after him to *Caire*, enforc'd him to diſſemble. And the better to conceal his paſſion, he deſir'd to go to *Mecca*, to worſhip the Sepulcher of *Mahomet*, though perhaps more out of diſcontent than devotion.

Hardly was the *Ottoman* Prince return'd, but news came from *Conſtantinople*. *Bajazet*, who in all things follow'd the counſel of *Achmat*, accepted the mediation of *Cairbey*, not ſo much to reconcile himſelf with his Brother, as to amuſe him, and ruine him, under the pretence of accommodation. The *Soldan* over-joy'd to ſee himſelf the Arbitrator of ſo great a quarrel, went about to perſwade *Zizim* that a part of the Empire was better then nothing; and upon that ſcore he offer'd him for his ſhare a Province in *Aſia*. The *Sultan* was much diſpleaſed at his Propoſition, and could not forbear from manifeſting how high an injury it

was

was to his pride. By this he found that mediation did but only make him loſe time; and therefore not finding *Cairbey* very readily diſpos'd to ſuccour him, he reſolv'd to implore the aſſiſtance of other Princes, at what time he receiv'd an Embaſſy from the *Graud Caraman*.

This Monarch, whom *Mahomet* had deſpoyl'd of the Kingdom of *Cilicia*, now call'd *Caramania*, thought he had now a favourable opportunity to recover the Kingdoms which he had loſt; and made no queſtion but that by declaring himſelf againſt *Bajazet*, he ſhould oblige *Zizim*, ſhould he contribute to put him in poſſeſſion of the Empire, to reſtore him his own. Upon this conſideration he rais'd Forces, and requeſted ſuccour from all his friends. The Grand Maſter, to whom he particularly addreſs'd himſelf, ſent him five Galleys laden with Souldiers and Artillery; who were readily willing to go, when the Counſel underſtood that it was done for the intereſt of *Zizim*, who had been always kind to the

the Knights, and the Veſſels of the Order. In ſhort, when *Caraman* had rais'd his Army, he ſent for *Sultan Zizim* to come and joyn with him. The propoſition of the King of *Caramania* was much more acceptable to the Prince, then that of the *Sultan*; but that which chiefly made him determine to leave *Caire*, was, that ſeveral *Baſha's* ill ſatisfi'd with the new Government, had by particular expreſſes aſſur'd him of their fidelity and ſervices. However, as much diſpleas'd as he was in himſelf with *Caitbey*, he would not break with a Prince from whom he had receiv'd ſo much kindneſs; and who was able to do him as much prejudice. So that as a mark of the confidence he repos'd in him, he left his wife and children with him.

The great deſire which *Zizim* had to obtain the Crown, which, as he pretended, belong'd to him, and of which he thought himſelf more worthy than *Bajazet*, made him haſten with all ſpeed to *Mount Taurus*, where the Grand *Caraman* expected him;

him; and the reaſon which that expell'd King had to hate the *Turks*, made *Zizim* believe that he ſhould find in him an aſſur'd and faithful friend. After they had ſworn to each other an inviolable Amity, the two Princes march'd together over vaſt Plains, and encamp'd with their Forces near to *Lavanda*, a City of *Cappadocia*; *Achmat*, who had winter'd in *Lycaonia*, neer *Iconium*, advanc'd with his Army upon the firſt report of the Confederacy of *Caraman* and *Zizim*; on the other ſide alſo *Bajazet*, whom the deſire of ruining his Brother, made more bold and valiant every day then other, ſet forth from *Conſtantinople* at the head of a hunder'd thouſand men, and joyn'd with *Achmat*, who had at leaſt as many.

Whatever reſolutions the two Princes had taken, they began to be afraid of ſo great a force; and *Caraman*, who knew his Troops to be far weaker then thoſe of the *Turks*, gave *Zizim* to underſtand that it would be but meer raſhneſs to give Battel.

He

He alſo endeavour'd to perſwade him that it was the part of prudence to retire. But the young Prince could not ſo reſolve; either honour or deſpair caus'd him to make a propoſal to *Bajazet*, that they might terminate their differences by a ſingle combat in the ſight of both Armies. *Bajazet*, who was not ſtout enough, and who was in too proſperous a condition to accept ſuch a challenge, propos'd to *Zizim* another way of accommodation, and offer'd him any ſuch Province as he ſhould like upon the Frontiers of *Turkey*, with two hunder'd thouſand Crowns in Gold every year, and a Court becoming the *Ottoman* magnificence.

Had thoſe offers been as ſincere, as they were made in craft, they would not have contented *Zizim*, whoſe ambition was not to be ſatisfi'd but with a Crown. He rejected them with diſdain. But knowing that *Achmat* did but only ſeek to enſnare him, that he might get his perſon into his power, while he kept him in play with fair words, he at length

was

was perſwaded to retreat. The advice which he had of their cloſe purſuit, advis'd him to ſave himſelf through Forreſts and Deſerts in the moſt difficult Streights of Mount *Taurus*. The *Caraman* follow'd him preſently after with his Forces very much tir'd. *Zizim* had formerly ſecur'd himſelf in this place from the perſecution of an enemy that was not his Brother; but judging well, that a Brother ſo unnatural as his would never be at reſt, till he had eſtabliſh'd his Throne by the death of him that had the only right to pretend to it; after he had made ſeveral reflections upon the preſent, and the future, he reſolv'd to ſeek the Alliance and protection of the Grand Maſter, whoſe generoſity he was well acquainted with, and who was alſo a friend of the Grand *Caraman*. To that purpoſe he wrote to *Rhodes* by one of his moſt faithful ſervants; but that Meſſenger was tak'n by the *Turks*, who poſſeſs'd all the paſſes of the Countrey, and carri'd to *Bajazet*, who put him immediately to death.

When

When *Zizim* underſtood that, and that *Achmat* ſought for him in all places, he left Mount *Taurus*, and took the way of *Lycia* toward the Sea with the Grand *Caraman*, who was himſelf his guide. Who, no ſooner were they got clear of the Streights of the Mountain, but their Troops who were poſted there, and were preparing to follow them, were ſurrounded, and cut in pieces by *Achmat*. Theſe new misfortunes put the young Prince upon ſending to the Grand Maſter two prudent and faithful perſons, the one of which was nam'd *Duan*, and the other *Solyman*. And there happen'd to be at that time a *Galiot* of the Order, that carri'd the Embaſſadors of *Zizim* to *Rhodes*.

Duan and *Solyman* fully inform'd the Grand Maſter of the adventures of their Prince. And afterwards they told him that it belong'd to none but the moſt Illuſtrious Knights of the World to protect an oppreſt Innocent; and that it was leſs an honour to humble the proud, then to aſſiſt the miſerable. That *Zizim* requir'd neither money

money nor men, being reſolv'd to ſubmit a while to his bad fortune; that he did not covet to rule, but only ſought an *Aſylum*, where he might live in ſafety and quiet. They added, that in his youth he had had a manifeſt affection for the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and that he hop'd that the *Mahumetan* Law wherein he had been bred, would not hinder them from taking pity upon a young Prince expos'd to the moſt cruel perſecution that ever was. To conclude, they told him that nothing would render the Knights of *Rhodes* more formidable to *Bajazett*, then their having his Brother in their power; nor more conſiderable either in *Europe* or in *Aſia*, then to be Maſter of the Deſtiny of a Prince, who was *Mahomet*'s Heir.

Theſe reaſons were too ſound not to move the Grand Maſter, who underſtood beſides how profitable ſuch an accident would be to all Chriſtendom. It was therefore reſolv'd in Council to entertain *Zizim*, and the grand Veſſel of the Treaſury was

forthwith commanded together with a Galley, a Caravel, and other Veſſels to go and fetch him. They alſo made ready at the ſame time a ſafe Conduct, after the ſame form which the Embaſſador deſir'd. The Grand Maſter made choice of *Don Alvare* of *Zuinga*, Prior of *Caſtile*, for ſo honourable a Command, and gave him his Orders how he ſhould behave himſelf toward the Prince.

Bajazett on the other ſide finding by a Letter intercepted, and by the advices which he had, that *Zizim* had bent his courſe toward the Coaſt of *Lycia*, to paſs from thence by Sea to *Rhodes*, ſent after him a body of Horſe, with orders to take him dead or alive. *Zizim*, who had intelligence thereof, preſently retir'd to the Sea ſide, where the great *Caraman* had prepar'd a Ship ready, in caſe the Prince ſhould be purſu'd. The Spahi's however made ſo muſt haſte, that they miſs'd him but a moment; they appear'd at the very time when he was but juſt got into the Barque; and he was no ſooner put off from the

the ſhoar, but taking a Bow in ſight of his Brothers ſouldiers, he let fly an Arrow, to the point whereof was faſten'd a Letter, the Contents of which were as follow.

King ZIZIM,

To King *Bajazett* his cruel Brother.

IF *I commit a crime in flying for Refuge to the Chriſtians, eſpecially to the Knights of* Rhodes, *the mortal enemies of our Illuſtrious Family, 'tis thou who art the only cauſe of it, both before God and Men. Thou art not only content to have depriv'd me of the Empire, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane; thou enforceſt me to ſeek an ignominious ſanctuary to ſave my life. Had* Mahomet *foreſeen that thou wouldſt one day have in ſuch a manner diſgrac'd the honour of the Name of* Muſſulman, *and the* Ot-

toman *Race, he would have been thy executioner himſelf. But I hope that Heaven will revenge me of thy Tyranny; and it is my prayer to our great Prophet, to haſten the puniſhment which thou deſerveſt.*

When the Horſemen ſaw that the Bark was out of their reach, they return'd, enrag'd that they had miſs'd their prey, and carri'd the Letter to *Bajazett.* The Barbarian could not refrain from tears when he read it: And it is reported that he was ſeiz'd with a terrour when he had conſider'd it, and fell into a deep fit of malancholly. So great a power have the conceptions of Nature and Religion, at certain times, upon minds, the moſt cruel and impious. In the mean time, *Zizim,* who had heard no tidings of his Embaſſadors, not knowing what courſe to ſteer, nor were to land in ſafety, wander'd at the mercy of the waves and winds along the Coaſt of *Lycia,* at what time he diſcover'd certain Veſſels, that with all the ſail they could, ſeem'd

ſeem'd to make toward him. Now, as it is natural to the unfortunate to be afraid of every thing, the Prince imagin'd them to be either Pirates, or ſuch as had a deſign upon his life, being in purſuit of him by his Brothers order, upon which he commanded the Pilot to gain the firſt landing-place: But the event prov'd to him that he had had a falſe alarum. For they whom he took for Pirates and Enemies, were the Ships of *Rhodes* that were ſent to ſeek him out.

When the Veſſels were within ſight of *Lycia*, *Don Alvarez*, according to his Inſtructions, ſent *Zizim*'s Embaſſadors. and a Knight along with him to give notice of his Arrival. No ſooner were they landed, but perceiving a Bark not far from the place where they went aſhore, they found there *Zizim* himſelf, whom they thought to have been at the Court of the Grand *Caraman*. The Embaſſadors gave him an accompt of the favourable Inclinations of the Grand Maſter, and the Knight told him that

Don Alvare, a kinſman of the Kings of *Caſtile*, Captain General of the Armies of the Order, and the Grand Maſters Lieutenant, was come on purpoſe to conduct him ſafely to *Rhodes*. The Prince, who found ſomething that was very acceptable in ſo ſtrange an Adventure, and who perhaps out of pride, would not at firſt confeſs his flight and his fear to an unknown perſon, ſmartly reply'd, that not queſtioning the generoſity of the Grand Maſter, he thought it convenient rather to come and expect him upon the Coaſt, then to put him to the trouble of ſearching after him. After which the Knight returning to the *Brigantine*, and coming up with the Veſſels at Sea, *Don Alvarez* made to the Prince himſelf, to ſalute him in his own Galley. He preſented him the Grand Maſters ſafe conduct and Letter, and then carry'd him into the great Ship with a loud noiſe of Trumpets, and the Thunder of the Canon.

The Prior of *Caſtile* was one of thoſe *Spaniards*, who being rarely bred, perfectly underſtood the world, being

being no leſs polite then dextrous in his behaviour; and therefore he faild not to pay *Zizim* all thoſe reſpects and offices which were due to an unfortunate and afflicted Prince. For though ill fortune had not abated the courage of the young *Sultan*, it had however ſomewhat encreas'd his natural melancholy. The Procedure of *Don Alvare* affected *Zizim* in ſuch a manner, that he teſtified at firſt how ſenſible he was of his kind offices, and gentle ſervices. *Generous Knight*, ſaid he, *in looſing a Throne, I have not loſt thoſe thoughts which Nature bequeaths to the moſt barbarous. And if fortune do not altogether deſtine me to miſery, you ſhall find that I was not born ungrateful. But I ſee your generoſity is altogether pure, and that in treating an Unfortunate ſo worthily, you only ſeek the honour of doing good. Yet I cannot wonder enough*, added he, *that ſo much civility ſhould be ſhewn to the Son of the moſt implacable enemy Your Order ever had, and I muſt confeſs, that therein I admire your ingenuity.*

Great Prince, Repli'd the Knight, *Reason commands that we should give honour to persons of high birth, and real merit, whatever their condition be; and they are but mean souls, that rather follow the Fortunes, then the persons of Kings. You are forc'd to fly ill intreated by your subjects, and depriv'd of your Dominions, but you are still a King, you are still* Sultan Zizim. *We receive you as a Prince, whose virtue and misfortune render him worthy the esteem of Christians, and not as an enemy. Nor are you to wonder that the Grand Master entertains in this manner the Son of an Emperour, who mortally hated us.* Mahomet *your Father did all he could to ruine us: we have done all we could to withstand his triumphant Arms, and by the mercy of God we obtain'd a signal Victory against him, the remembrance of which After-Ages will preserve. The Knights of* Rhodes *know how to vanquish those that assail them; but they know how to relieve with humanity those that cast themselves into their*

their Protection; nor are there any Injuries which they do not forget, when their enemies are no longer able to do them harm.

The Anſwer of *Don Alvares* convinc'd *Zizim* of the generoſity of the Knights, and entirely gain'd his confidence.

The Grand Maſter had commanded that he ſhould be treated like the Son of an Emperour and a King. To which purpoſe the Officers that firſt ſerv'd him at his Table, made an Eſſay of the meat, according to the cuſtom of the Courts of *Europe*. *Zizim* ſeem'd to be ſurpriz'd, becauſe that Ceremony is not in faſhion among the *Turks*: but it was told him it was the uſual practice at the Tables of the *European* Princes, and that it was an Aſſurance againſt poiſon. *Oh!* ſaid he, *I am not afraid of being poiſoned by ſuch generous Knights as you; I have put my life and fortune into your hands, and I hold my ſelf ſecure. Beſides, I had rather you ſhould treat me as a friend, then a Prince.* Concluding thoſe words, he

he took ſomething out of every diſh of which no Eſſay had been made, and putting all the meat into one plate, he began to eat, to let the Knights know how much he confided in them. After that he began to be more gay and pleaſant, while the good entertainment that he receiv'd had almoſt made him forget his paſt miſfortunes.

Nevertheleſs, when the Ships were under ſail, and that the Coaſts of *Lycia* began to diſappear, he then began to be apprehenſive that nothing could be more worthy of compoſition then a fugitive and wandring King, driven to ſeek an *Aſylum* in the territories of ſtrangers, and of enemies. So that the ſad thoughts which ſeiz'd him all of a ſudden, caus'd him to be profoundly ſad for ſome hours; ſo that all his courage was but little enough to bring him to his former humour.

For the mean while the Ship kept on their courſe, and they had ſo fortunate a paſſage, that they came in a ſmall time within view of *Rhodes*.

Don

Don Alvarez ſpeeded before in a Brigantine, to give the Grand Maſter notice of the Prince's arrival. All things were already order'd for his Entry; and among the reſt of the preparations, there was a bridge of wood, which reach'd from the gate of the Port, above ten paces into the Sea, to the very place where the Ship that carri'd *Zizim* was to lye.

The moſt ancient Commanders which the Grand Maſter ſent before to meet the Prince, receiv'd him with all the reſpect which was due to the Son of their Emperour *Mahomet*. So that while the Artillery play'd from all parts, he paſs'd over the Bridge which was cover'd with cloth of Gold, in the midſt of the Acclamations of the people, whom curioſity had drawn to the ſhoar. From whence, after he had mounted a Spaniſh Courſer, richly harneſſed, he rode forward to the Great *Piazza*, with the ſound of fifes and Trumpets, conducted by *Don Alvarez*, who did him the Office of a Squire. The Streets were all ſtrew'd with herbs & flowers, and an infinite

infinite number of people fill'd the plat-forms and windows. *Zizim*, entring into the City, was ſmitten with the beauty which appear'd there very rich in habit, as well to ſee as to be ſeen, and with a loud voice he ſpoke it, that it was not for nothing that the *Rhodian* women were accounted the faireſt of all *Aſia*.

At the ſame time that the Ship which carry'd *Zizim* entred the Port, the Grand Maſter march'd out of the Caſtle with a pompous train, and in very good order. He was attended by a troop of young Knights, very richly habited, and mounted upon horſes of high price. The Officers of the Order follow'd them; every one wearing about their necks a Chain of Gold, going two and two, with countenances wherein there was both haughtineſs and modeſty mixed together. The Grand Maſter appear'd at laſt, apparell'd in Tiſſue of Gold, embroider'd with precious ſtones, mounted upon a *Neopolitan* Steed, whoſe harneſs was all embroider'd with Gold and Silver. The

Squires

Squires and Pages that follow'd him, were no leſs remarkable for the ſplendour of their habits and furniture, then for their goodly preſences, and dexterity in the management of their Horſes. But there appear'd an Air ſo noble, and ſomething ſo majeſtick in the perſon of the Grand Maſter, that he was eaſily diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the company. A great body of Horſe clos'd up the Rear of the Retinue.

The Grand Maſter ſtopp'd before the Church of St. *Sebaſtian*, and put his men in order in the *Piaz*, expecting the approach of the *Sultan*. So ſoon as *Zizim* perceiv'd the Grand Maſter, who was ſhew'd him by *Don Alvarez*, though he were remarkable enough in many other reſpects, he ſaluted him according to the manner of the *Turks*, by putting his finger three times upon his mouth. The Grand Maſter on his part making a low obeyſance, advanc'd toward him, and making a ſecond bow, gave him a very civil complement in *Italian*, which was anſwer'd

ſwer'd by the Prince with a good grace, and in expreſſions full of good ſenſe. After that they gave their hands each to other, and having repeated ſome few more words of friendſhip and kindneſs, they march'd together to the *French* Lodgings which were prepar'd for the Prince. The Grand Maſter, when they began to ſet forward, gave him the upper hand, but *Zizim*, making ſome reflexions upon it, would not permit it at firſt. *I am your Captive*, ſaid he, *and it becomes not a Captive to take the place of honour. Sir*, anſwer'd the Grand Maſter, *Captives of your condition, preſerve their dignity in all places, and I would to God you had as much power in* Conſtantinople *as you have in* Rhodes.

As to the reſt, *Zizim* appear'd neither merry nor ſad, during the whole Calvacade. He carry'd the look of a perſon, who had the proof both at one time of good and bad fortune; or like one that believ'd himſelf worthy of the honours which were done him. He ſeem'd however

to

to be highly pleas'd with the behaviour of the Knights; and when he alighted from his Horſe, he embrac'd the Grand Maſter with a very tender affection, calling him ſeveral times his Protector and Father. That day, and for ſome daies following, they had ſeveral particular diſcourſes upon the preſent condition of Affairs; but all that time abſtain'd from particular conferences. However, there was nothing omitted for the divertiſement of the young *Sultan*, ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen at *Rhodes* but Hunting-matches, Runing at the Ring, Shews, and magnificent Feaſts. But all theſe divertiſements did not compleat the repoſe of the Prince's mind. For though he were not afraid of the Knights, he could not think himſelf in ſafety in a place full of *Greeks*, and ſo neer the *Turks*; and what was more the proceedings of the *Port*, daily encreas'd his diſquiet and his fears.

At the beginning of thoſe diviſions which turmoil'd the *Ottoman* Empire, after the death of *Mahomet*, *Bajazett*

Bajazett was afraid that it would not go well with his affairs, ſo long as he was not in friendſhip with the Grand Maſter, however he could not condeſcend to demand peace himſelf. There to ſave his reputation, he dealt in private with the Sub-Baſha *De Pizzona*, who was come over to his Party, and was Governour of *Lycia*. The Sub-Baſha ſent an Embaſſador to *Rhodes*, with inſtructions not to ſpeak of *Bajazett*, but only to manage a truce between the people of *Lycia* and the *Rhodians*, believing that a Peace would eaſily follow a Truce. But the Embaſſy not having that ſucceſs which was expected, *Bajazett* made uſe of *Achmat* to carry on his deſign. The *Baſha*, as jealous of the honour of the *Sultan*, as the Governour of *Lycia*, wrote, as from his Supream a very yielding Letter to engage the Grand Maſter to an accommodation, and entruſted *Laſim Brahim* for his Agent, with the Letter. The Grand Maſter thought himſelf obliged to hear the Propoſitions of *Achmat*, as wel

well for the love of his people, who ſtood in need of reſt after the toils of ſo long a war, as for the honour of the Order, to whom a Treaty could not be but advantageous, that mention'd nothing of Tribute.

The Reception of *Zizim*, made *Bajazet* impatient of a concluſion of peace. Upon which *Achmut* urg'd it more and more by his Miniſter *Laſim Brahim*. He offer'd alſo that the Grand Signior ſhould ſign whatever the Knights deſir'd, and for a pledge of his real intentions, he reſtor'd all the Veſſels of the Order which had been taken ſince the Truce by the Pyrates of *Lycia*.

All theſe condeſcentions of the Port, ſo different from the *Ottoman* Haughtineſs, more then ever alarum'd Prince *Zizim*. He imagin'd with himſelf, that his Brother was not ſo deſirous of peace, but only that he might have an occaſion to deſtroy him; and that when Trade ſhould be free between the *Rhodians* & *Turks*, he ſhould be in daily fear of either being ſtabb'd or poiſon'd: and that the

runagate *Greeks* ſo accuſtom'd to treachery and murther, would omit nothing to ſerve *Bajazett* to good purpoſe. In the midſt of theſe thoughts he reſolv'd to ſeek a Sanctuary elſewhere, to preſerve himſelf from a violent death, to which purpoſe he open'd his mind to the Grand Maſter, in whom he put an entire confidence. The Grand Maſter found that *Zizim* offer'd nothing but reaſon; yet becauſe the affair was of great impotance, he reſolv'd to have the advice of his Council, before he gave the Prince a poſitive anſwer. Among them, Opinions were different, while ſome affirm'd that it was for the intereſt and honour of the Order to keep the Prince; that *Bajazett* durſt not refuſe the Knights any thing, or make any attempt upon them, while *Zizim* remain'd at *Rhodes*; that when he was out of their power, they could expect nothing but a cruel war, or a very diſadvantageous peace. That by all the rules of prudence they were to lay hold upon ſo fair an occaſion;

caſion; or at leaſt before the retreat of the *Sultan*, they were to make an honourable agreement with the Port. As for the ſafety of the Prince, they might eaſily ſecure it, by affording him a ſufficient Guard, there being very few *Aſſaſſinates* that would attempt the perſons of great men, at the hazard of their own lives.

The more diſintereſted, and the wiſer ſort were of a contrary judgment, that a removal was the only way to preſerve *Sultan Zizim* from the misfortunes that threatned him: that war did no way ſecure him, that after a refuſal of Peace with the *Turks*, they had no way to ſecure him from poiſon or aſſaſſination, while treaſon enters every where, and the fidelity of ſervants and guards is not proof againſt any large ſum of money. That while *Bajazet* ſought to get him into his power by all the waies imaginable, they could neither ſurrender him without betraying their faith given, nor keep him without drawing upon themſelves the indignation of the *Sultan*.

Zizim, who ſaw that his affairs would ſpin out too much time, unleſs he determin'd ſomething ſpeedily, and well enough underſtood the danger of delay, preſs'd the Grand Maſter to give him his liberty to be gone, and conjur'd him to permit him that he might go to the King of *France*, as being the perſon moſt capable to protect him againſt the Tyranny of his Brother. For beſides that he gueſs'd at the *French* Humour, by the behaviour of the Grand Maſter, he had heard frequent diſcourſes of their generoſity; nor did he queſtion but that the ſucceſſors of *Clovis* and *Charlemaigne*, whoſe famous deeds he had read, would take delight in reſtoring a Prince to his Throne.

The Grand Maſter could not withſtand neither the reaſons, nor the powerful inſtances of *Zizim*. He approv'd his determination touching his retreat into *France*. But that which made him approve it the more, was that he thought that *Zizim* ran no hazard in a Countrey which produc'd no Monſters, and where poiſon

as

was unknown. So that the ſafety of a poor Prince who had thrown himſelf into the Arms of the Knights, made the Grand Maſter in ſome meaſure forget his own Intereſts, and thoſe of his people; for not troubling himſelf about the ill conſequences that ſo haſty a Retreat might draw after it, he gave all orders neceſſary for the Voyage into *France*. He redoubl'd at the ſame time his civilties to the *Sultan*, and the eeve before his departure made him a moſt magnicent Feaſt. *Zizim* admir'd more then once the variety and dreſſing of the meat, and the order of the ſervice, confeſſing that the magnificence of the *Ottoman* Emperours had nothing ſo ſumptuous. During the feaſt there was a noble conſort of muſick, and among the reſt of the Muſicians an Engliſh man, who ſung rarely, and plaid upon a certain unuſual Inſtrument compos'd of four Pipes joyn'd together, charming all the company, except the Prince, whoſe ears were not accuſtom'd to ſuch ſweet muſick. Whereupon the Grand

Maſter who perceiv'd it, and ſate alone at the Table with him, ſent for a Turkiſh Slave, whom he thought would better pleaſe him.

This Slave, ſinging a Turkiſh Air, and playing upon I know not what ſort of Inſtrument, making faces, and uſing ridiculous poſtures, delighted *Zizim* ſo well, that he caus'd him to laugh heartily. He eat plentifully and as ſtrict as he was in the obſervation of his Law, he drank wine ſometimes mix'd with Aromatick juices, and ſometimes neat without any compoſition. The Feaſt was in the Grand Maſter's Palace, where they ſate upon two Chairs with a Table before them, after the faſhion of *Europe*; but that poſture was uneaſie to the *Sultan*, who was wont to eat croſs-legg'd, ſo that he caſt his eyes up and down to ſee if no body obſerv'd his diſturbance.

But after all theſe leſſer obſervations, *Zizim* was extraordinarily ſatisfi'd with the marks of friendſhip which he receiv'd from the Grand Maſter during his ſtay at *Rhodes*; he return'd

return'd him thanks ſeveral times; and as a teſtimony of his gratitude, he caus'd three Authentick Acts to be forthwith made ready, which he put into the Grand Maſter's hands. The firſt was an abſolute power for him to conclude a Peace with the Port, as he ſhould ſee good. The ſecond was a kind of a *Manifeſto* for the diſcharge of the Knights, by which the Prince declar'd that he had earneſtly deſir'd to go out of *Rhodes*, and to be conducted into *France*: which is alone enough to juſtifie the Grand Maſter, whom ſome ill-meaning, or ill-inform'd people have blam'd for letting the Prince go. The third Act was a perpetual confederation of the Prince with the Order, in caſe he ſhould ever come to be reſtor'd to the Dominions and Territories of his Anceſtors. This laſt Act is ſo much for the honour of the Grand Maſter, and ſo highly manifeſts the acknowledgment of *Zizim*, that I thought it might not be troubleſom to the Reader to ſee it.

Let all the world know that King Zizim, *of the Race of the* Ottomans, *Son of the invincible Mahomet, King of Kings, and Soveraign Emperour of* Greece *and* Asia, *is infinitely beholding to the thrice generous, and thrice illustrious, the Lord* Peter D'Aubusson, *Grand Master of* Rhodes. *Let all the world also know that for the kind Offices he hath shewn me in the most perilous adventures of my life, and to testifie my acknowledgment as far as the present condition of my fortune will give me leave, I promise solemnly to God and our Great Prophet, that if I ever recover either absolutely or in part, the Imperial Crown of my Father, I promise, I say, and swear to hold a perpetual friendship, and inviolable peace with the Grand Master and his successours according to the Articles following.*

In the first place I engage my self, my children, and the children of my children to have an eternal kindness for the order of St. John *of* Jerusalem, *so that neither I, nor my children shall do them any injury either*

by

by Sea or Land. That we will be ſo far from ſtopping the Veſſels or diſturbing the commerce of the Merchants of Rhodes, or of any other Ilands appertaining to the Order, that our ports ſhall be free to them in all the Provinces under our obedience, as if they themſelves were our ſubjects; or rather we will entertain them as our friends, permitting them to buy, ſell, or tranſport what Merchandize they pleaſe, without paying any cuſtom, or duty.

Beſides this, I conſent that the Grand Maſter ſhall every year take out of my Territories three hundred Chriſtians of both ſexes, and at what age he pleaſes, to put into the Iſlands of the order, or to do with them what he thinkes beſt. And in ſome meaſure to make ſatisfaction for the expences which the Grand Maſter has bin at, and every day ſo liberally allows for my ſake, I oblige my ſelf to pay in ready mony a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns in Gold. Laſtly I promiſe upon oath to reſtore him all the Iſles, all the Lands, and all the

the Fortreſſes which the Ottoman Emperours *have taken from the order. And for a teſtimony that this is my will, I have ſign'd with my hand, and ſeald with my ſeal this preſent Act given at* Rhodes *in the palace of the French Apartiment the fift of the month* Regeb, *the year of the Hegira*, 887.

The 31. *Of Auguſt in the Year of grace*, 1482.

The third of September whichwas the day that the Prince took ſhipping, he was attended to the Sea with the ſame Pomp, and the ſame ceremonie, with which he was receiv'd. Hetook his leave of the principal Knights, aftera moſt obliging manner, wherin there appear'd nothing of Barbariſm. He alſo laid aſide all his haughtineſs, when he gave the Grand Maſter his laſt farewel: For it is reported that he threw himſelf at his feet, and kiſs'd his hand with a profound reſpect. The Grand Maſter tenderly embrac'd him, and wept for ſome time over him either through compaſſion, or through tim

ſome ſecret dictate that he ſhould never ſee him again. The Knight *de Blanchefort*, who was return'd to *Rhodes* ſince the raiſing of the ſeige, & the Knight *de Rochechenard* had order to conduct the *Sultan* into *France*, not to mention the Knights who were nam'd to accompany him, and to ſerve him as a convoy; but they enter'd all together with *Zizim* into the great ſhip of the order, and ſet ſaile the ſame day with a favourable wind.

The Grand Maſter, who had already given advice to the Pope of the arrival of the *Ottoman* Prince, gave him alſo notice of his departure by this opportunity, and ſent him word in particular, that *Zizim* of his own accord had made choice of *France* for the ſecurity of his life: that he had good ground for his fears; in regard that for the forty dayes that he had ſtay'd in *Rhodes* he was certainly enformd that the Grand ſigniour had us'd all his endeavours either to take or murder him.

The

The departure of the Prince did not work that ill effect which ſome were afraid of. For though *Bajazet* was ſoon inform'd of what had paſs'd, yet he deſir'd peace with the ſame earneſtneſs as before; becauſe he always lookt upon the Grand Maſter as the Arbiter of the *Sultan* his Brothers fortune. So that the Embaſſadours that departed for *Conſtantinople* the next day after Prince *Zizim* was gon, were honourably receiv'd by the Grand Signiour, and the peace had bin preſently concluded, had not the pride of *Achmat* put a ſtop to it.

This *Baſha*, equally proud & cuning, who in his letters had given a blank paper to the Grand Maſter, could not endure that the firſt propoſition which the Embaſſadours made ſhould be that no mention ſhould be made of Tribute. He brake forth upon that ſubject with a haughtineſs, which made him almoſt forget the reſpect to the ſacred Perſons of the Miniſters of Soveraign Princes. The Knight *Guy de Mont Amaud*, who was one of

of the Embaſſadours, and who in his inſtructions had expreſs order to beat up briskly againſt the *Baſha*, took him up ſhort, and ſpoke to him with that ſharpneſs, that had abſolutely broke off the Negotiation, if *Miſach Paleologus*, who was at the conference, had not allay'd their paſſions. After the death of *Mahomet* he was returned to the port, and had gain'd the favour of *Bajazet*, by eſpouſing his Intereſt. He, well acquainted with the humour of the Knights, and having prov'd to his coſt, the conſtancy of the Grand Maſter, knew it was in vain for *Achmat* to contend ſo obſtinately upon the point of tribute, and told him his reaſons breifly, though in the Turkiſh language, that the Embaſſadours might not underſtand him.

The Knight *Leonard Duprat*, who was the other Embaſſadour, and underſtood Turkiſh, underſtanding the *Baſha's* diſcourſe, and repeating it in French to the Knight *de Mont Amaud*, was the occaſion, that both ſtanding ſtifly to their principles,

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Achmats heat began to cool, ſo that of himſelf he began to give way to their demands. *Bajazet* promiſed not only to live in good amity with the Knights of *Rhodes*, but not to trouble the reſt of the Chriſtians. The Grand Maſter undertook for his part, to keep *Zizim* always in the power of the Knigths, and to endeavour all he could that the *Sultan* ſhould not fall into the hands of any Prince either Chriſtian or Infidel. Upon this the peace was concluded according to the Articles which the Embaſſadours propos'd; and it may be ſaid that never was any Accommodation made with the Port, either more honourable or more profitable to *Chriſtendom*. That which was moſt remarkable and extraordinary was that *Bajazet* engag'd himſelf, either through weakneſs or Policie, to pay the Grand Maſter a kind of Tribute. To this purpoſe he ſent to *Rhodes Cagritaim*, his principal favourite. and the two Knights beſtirrd themſelves ſo well, that they carry'd him along with them upon their return.

Cagritaim

Cagritaim declar'd in full councel, that the Port would pay to the order thirty five thouſand Duckets, money of *Venice*, for the ſubſiſtence of *Zizim*, and beſides that, the Grand Signiour would pay every year to the Grand Maſter in particular ten thouſand Duckets, to make him amends in ſome meaſure for the exceſſive charges he had bin at in the laſt war.

Achmat, who was the proudeſt perſon in the world, and one that mortally hated the Chriſtians, eſpecially the Grand Maſter and the Knights, could not brook this condeſcientiom in the Grand Signor: He accus'd him of lowneſs of Spirit, and cowardice; he murmur'd in publick, and made ſharpe ſcoffs upon it. *Bajazet*, who for ſome time before began to grow jealous of the *Baſha*, as of a perſon that did not love any thing more then war; and was therefore likely to take *Zizims* part, took theſe murmuors and rebukes for the ſymptomes of a revolt: And believ'd that only the death of ſuch a dange-

dangerous enemy could break his deſigns. True it is that he owd to him for the Crown; but uſually great benefits are look'd upon as crimes: & weak Princes often find their ſafety in the deſtruction of thoſe that rais'd them, and are able to pull them down again.

So ſoon as the peace was concluded between the Knights and the *Turkes*, the Grand Signiour put to death this famous Baſha at a Magnificent feaſt, where were all the grandees of the Port, and where *Bajazet* was preſent himſelf. The diſcourſe of the table falling upon the Peace, and *Zizim*, *Bajazet* to provoke *Achmat*, and to engage him to ſpeak ſomthing to be layd hold on, publickly declar'd that he would leſſen the Souldiers pay, and deprive the Grandees of the port of their emploiments that were not loyal to their lawful Prince. The *Baſha*, who well underſtood that thoſe words concern'd him, preſently took fire, and went ſo high in the heat of the debauchery, as to tell the Grand Signor that it was but an ill way to eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh a throne to provoke the Souldiery; and that the *Ottoman* Monarcks were not aſſur'd of their Empires, ſo long as they had Brothers alive. He had no ſooner ſpoke the words, but a mute inſtructed before gave him ſix ſtabs with a poignard. Others ſay that after the feaſt was over, *Bajazet* who loved wine, kept *Achmat* to drink with him alone, under pretence of friendſhip, and that ſeeing him half drunk he commanded two Eunuches to ſtrangle him. However, it were *Cagritaim* ſucceeded at the Port in his place, though he had neither the merit nor experience, but he knew perfectly how to humour *Bajazet*, who only minded eaſe.

In the mean while, the Grand Maſter, who made little accompt of the friendſhip of the Infidels, of whoſe perfidiouſneſs he had a thouſand times experienc'd; and for that the perſon of *Zizim* ſeem very proper for him to make uſe of in caſe of a rupture, he apply'd himſelf wholly to make a league between the

Christian Princes against the common enemy. He wrought several Letters to them, he sent them particular Agents to let them understand that there was never a fairer opportunity to ruin the *Ottoman* Empire, or at least to weak'n it very much; that *Zizim* at the head of a croisade world do as much as many Armies together; that the death of *Achmat* had depriv'd the *Turks* of the most able Minister, and the most valiant Captain, that perhaps they ever had: That the Grand *Caraman*, and other Princes of *Asia* expected only when *Europe* would move, to declare themselves; and in short, that all the present conjunctures rendered that enterprize easie, which was so difficult of it self. But I know not by what fatality, if it were not rather the Incomprehensible disposal of providence, the Christian world, was not at all enclin'd to take advantage of the opportunity which Heaven it self seem'd to put into their hands. All *Italy* was then divided. The King

of

of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines* were in arms againſt the Pope and the common wealth of *Venice*. *France* was noteſs in trouble after the death of *Lewis* the 11th. The party of malecontents ſtirr'd up by the Duke of *Orleans* who pretended to the regency, and by the Count of *Angoulſm* his couſin, had excited troubles over all the Kingdom. Beſides the French deſir'd quiet at home, only that they might be at leaſure for the conqueſt *Naples*. And young *Charles* the 8th. Who naturally loved honour, made that the aim of all his ambition. The war of the *Moors* made work enough in *Spain*. And the bad correſpondence which daily encreas'd between the Emperour *Frederick*, and *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary* prevented them from uniting together againſt the *Turk*, ſo that all the deſigns of the Grand Maſter vaniſh'd in ſmoak, and with all his zeal he had only the greiſe to effect nothing.

But if the Chriſtian Princes were

not in a condition to make use of the person of *Zizim* for the common good of Christendom, they were no less disappointed in making advantage of him for their particular Interests. How importunate soever the most part of them were to have him, the Grand Master would never give his consent, and his orders were so well observ'd in that particular, that the order of St. *John* was always the Mistress of him. *Zizim* being arriv'd in *France*, the King receiv'd him but coldly, either because that *France* would by no means embroil themselves with the Port, just before the expedition against *Naples*, or else because they fear'd that an honourable reception was an engagement too high in the entertaining a Turkish Prince, so that he stay'd but a very little while at Court, the Knights conducting him to the commander of *Bourgneus*, this was a place upon the confines of *Poitou* and *March*, pleasently situated, where the Grand Priers of *Auvergne* kept their Residence.

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The Knight *Blanchefort*, with whom the Grand Maſter had particularly entruſted the perſon of *Zizim*, took care that the Prince ſhould not be preſently diſpleaſed. He gave him all the honour that his birth deſerv'd, and ſhew'd him all the ſports and paſtimes that the Country could afford. But notwithſtanding all theſe civilities, the Knight *Blanchefort* omitted not to have an eye upon the Prince, and to keep a ſtrong guard about him, to hinder thoſe that ſought for him from getting him into their hands either by cunning or force. But as the love of liberty is more natural to Princes then to other men, *Zizim* ſoon perceiv'd that he was watch'd too narrowly. That reflexion made him ſuſpect the diligences of the Knights, and caus'd him to think that he was rather kept as a priſoner then a Prince. He teſtify'd his diſpleaſure at it, which caus'd thoſe reports that ran about the world in prejudice of the Grand Maſter's honour. They gave out that it was a

violation of the publick faith to retain *Zizim* in prison against his will. That the Knights had sold his liberty to the *Ottoman* Port for forty thousand Ducats a year; and that it was therefore no wonder they had such a strict eye over him. That such a prisoner was a treasure for them, and that their insatiable avarice made them foget the more holy duties of civil society.

They that thus discours'd either through jealousy, or else judging by outward appearances, did not consider that at a time when all *Europe* was in an uproar, there was nothing more to be done for the good of Christendom, nor for the safety of *Zizim*, then what the Grand Master did. And had they been well inform'd of all the snares that the Grand Signiour laid for *Zizim*, they would then have chang'd their Opinion, and found that the Knights that so guarded him were the true defenders of his life, and of his liberty.

Nor had *Zizim* reason to complain

plain of the conduct of the Grand Maſter as well in reference to himſelf, as the *Ottoman* Port; for in deſiring a ſafe conduct of him, he expreſsly declar'd that he intended to follow his counſel and orders in every thing, ſo that by the conſent of *Zizims* Imbaſſadours the ſafe conduct was diſpatched upon that condition, as the Grand Maſter obſerv'd in a Letter which he wrote to Pope ſextus the 4th. Beſides the *Sultan* had given the Grand Maſter a ſufficient liberty to treat with the Grand Maſter as he pleas'd himſelf, and it was by vertue of that liberty that the Grand Maſter had concern'd *Zizim* in the treaty of peace.

As for the thirty thouſand Ducats, certain it is, that the money was ſpent in maintenance of *Zizim*. By which the Grand Maſter was ſo far from getting any profit, that he made an addition to it out of his own revenue. Which may be eaſily thought to be true, conſidering with what royal magnificence the *Ottoman* Prince was always entertain'd,

not to mention the infinite expences of receiving and ſending Embaſſadours.

But *Zizim*'s diſcontent laſted not long. For the Knights made him ſoon to underſtand that the Guard that was upon him, was againſt his Enemies, and not him. Thus being quitted of his ſuſpitions, and perſwaded more then ever of the friendſhip of the Grand Maſter, he complain'd no more but of his bad fortune that had reduc'd him to a country and ſolitary life.

Now the peace between the order and the Port having open'd a freedom to trade, ſeveral Turkiſh Veſſelſs came to *Rhodes*. And moſt of the *Turks* that Landed, were ſo taken with the beauty of the *Rhodian* women, that they ſpar'd for nothing to ſatisfy their deſires. This gliſter of Gold grew ſuch a temptation, that ſeveral of the *Rhodians* without regard to the Chriſtian law, or their own, yeilded themſelves to the *Mahometans*. But the Grand Maſter abhorring ſuch a ſhameful proſtitution

tion, and to ſtop the torrent of ſuch a ſcandal, condemn'd the Chriſtian women that were convicted of ſuch a crime as lying with a *Turk*, a *Moore*, or a *Jew*, to be burnt alive, and he order'd the puniſhment to extend to the very procurers of that infamous familiarity.

Some while after the Grand Maſter made a regulation upon *Sultan Zizim*'s accompt. For conſidering how much it concern'd the honour of the order, and the General Intereſt of Chriſtendom, that his perſon ſhould not be expos'd to the Aſſaſſinates of *Bajazet*, he orderd that the Knight *de Blanchefort* ſhould take as many Knights as he pleaſed for the Guard of *Zizim* commanding ſtrictly thoſe that were nam'd to obey him without any more to do; declaring withall that ſuch as ſhould be bound to attend upon *Zizim*, ſhould enjoy all the prerogatives of Reſidence, and precedency, as if they had ſtay'd at *Rhodes*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Fifth.

WHILST *Zizim* had a private and obſcure life in *France*, one *Bajazett* almoſt unknown till then appear'd in the world, reſolv'd to take advantage of the diviſions of the two *Ottoman* Brothers. He was their Uncle, being the Brother of *Mahomet* and Son of *Amurath*. After the loſs of *Con-*

Conſtantinople, he was taken by the Chriſtians in his Infant years, and carry'd to *Rome* in the Pontificat of *Nicholas* the fifth, who took care himſelf of his Education. The Inſtructions which he receiv'd were not altogether unpoſitable: For he renounc'd the law of his falſ Prophet and became a Chriſtian. He apply'd himſelf afterwards to the ſtudy of humane Learning; and as he wanted not wit, he perfectly attain'd the Latine Language. But *Nicholas the Fift* being dead, he left *Italy*, to travell into *Germany*. There he was well receiv'd; and the *Germans* lookt upon him as a perſon that might be uſeful to them in their Wars againſt the *Turks*. After he had ſtay'd ſometime in the Emperor *Fredericks* Court, he went into *Hungary*, and there ſettl'd himſelf, not dreaming to raiſe his fortune any higher, for the example of the brave and vertuous *Matthias* made ſo little impreſſion upon him, that he only minded his repoſe and pleaſure in the Court altogether Warlike, and altogether Chriſtian.

But

But the Quarrel between *Bajazet* and *Zizim* which made ſuch a noiſe over all *Aſia* and *Europe*, awak'nd him out of that dream wherein he lay, and rous'd his ambition by cauſing him to remember his birth. The flight of *Zizim* begat in him a deſire to make war againſt *Bajazet*. He revolv'd in his mind, that having but one enemy to deale with, he might without fear diſpute for the Empire, but at the ſame time he thought there was no way for him to compaſs his deſign, but by the aſſiſtance of the Knights of *Rhodes*. And he had a belief that infallibly he ſhould attain his ends, provided he could engage the Grand Maſter to his ſide. To this purpoſe he wrote to him a long Letter in Latin. Wherein he firſt declar'd himſelf the only heir to the *Ottoman* Crown, as lawful Son of *Amurath*, pretending that *Mahomet* was but his baſtard; then he ſpoke of his great feats of arms, like a true Knight errant; and becauſe the Chriſtian world might not be ſo well inform'd, he referr'd the Grand

Maſter

Maſter to the *Turks* for a clearer underſtanding of things. But the *Turks* knew him not ſo well as the Chriſtians; for he was carry'd away ſo young from *Conſtantinople*, that it was impoſſible for him to have done any thing remarkable in *Turky*. At laſt he highly extold the ſervices he could do for Chriſtendom, and the information he could give the Grand Maſter touching ſeveral important ſecrets of affairs, adviſing him not to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, & earneſtly deſiring his ſpeedy anſwer. The letter was written with his own hand; but as if he had the management of all the buſineſs in the world, he concluded that it was writ in haſte.

They were not convinc'd at *Rhodes* of *Bajazett* of *Hungaries* reaſons. That *Braggadochio* ſtile wherewith he thought to win the aſſiſtance of the Knights, was in part the reaſon why they refus'd it him. On the other ſide, the Grand Maſter who had a tender love for *Zizim*, and was loath to embroil himſelf with the Port, took no care to liſten

to

to the Propoſitions of an Adventurer, of whom he had no knowledge, and to who he had no engagement; ſo that this new Actor ſoon return'd to that obſcurity wherein he had alwaies liv'd, and which he ſo much the rather deſerv'd, becauſe he had ſought too late to quit it.

The Grand Signior took it the moſt kindly in the world, that he had behav'd himſelf in that manner, and as a mark of his acknowledgment he began from that time to pay him the forty thouſand Duckets which he had promiſed him. The firſt payment was made by *Uſſambei*, one of the Principal Officers of the Port. He was ſent expreſly to *Rhodes*, with order nevertheleſs to go for *France*, under pretence to thank *Charles* the Eighth, for receiving *Zizim* into his Territories, but indeed to learn certain intelligence of his Brother. However, *Bajazett* fearing leſt *Uſſambei* ſhould find ſome obſtacle in his Embaſſy, conjur'd the Grand Maſter that he ſhould give him letters of recommendation for *France*. But the Grand

Maſter

Maſter did not think it enough to write to the King. He was reſolv'd that the Hoſpitalier of the Order ſhould accompany the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador, to be his Guide, and to introduce him into the Court. And indeed *Uſſambei* was better receiv'd than *Zizim* had been; for the complements of *Bajazett* highly pleas'd the *French*.

In the mean time the war of *Terrara* rais'd many combuſtions in *Italy*, and was meditating to have brought the Infidels into *Italy*. For *Hercules D'Eſte* became ſo proud through the Alliance of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Elenor* in Marriage, that he loftily ſcorn'd the friendſhip of the *Venetians*, which the Dukes his predeceſſors had alwaies highly ſought for. He came to that degree of contempt, that he uſurp'd their Lands, abus'd their ſubjects, not conſidering the kindneſſes which he had receiv'd from the Republick, when after the death of his elder Brother, the Son of his other Brother took up

Arms

Arms to have depriv'd him of his Dominions. The *Venetians* could not brook the loftineſs nor ingratitude of the Duke of *Ferrara*. They rais'd puiſſant Armies againſt him, and leagu'd themſelves again with the Pope, who was diſpleas'd with the King of *Naples*, both becauſe that Prince had retain'd in his ſervice about four hundred *Turks* of the Garriſon of *Otranto*, and becauſe he took little care in his Kingdom of the duties of the Holy See.

Ferdinand ſent *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria* to the ſuccour of *Hercules* his Son-in-law, of whom the Common wealth had got great advantages. *Alphonſo* had already paſs'd the Mark of *Ancona*, and was advancing with his forces toward the *Ferrarez's*, when the *Colonna's* and *Cavelli*, who were riſen up againſt the Pope, invited him to joyn with them in the *Compagna* of *Rome*. *Robert Malateſte*, who commanded the Army of the Republick, was ſoon at his heels, gave him battel, and abſolutely defeated him. Which Victory

fill'd

fill'd the *Venetians* full of hopes, and undertakings, but while they ranſack'd the *Ferrareſi*, and were going to make themſelves Maſters of *Ferrara*, the Pope of a ſuddain abandons them, whether he were gain'd by the ſubmiſſions of *Ferdinand*, or whether he were jealous of the Progreſs of the Republick. However it were, *Sixtus* agrees with the Father and Son in Law; He alſo threaten'd the *Venetians* with the indignation and *Anathema*'s of the Church, if they continu'd the war of *Ferrara*.

The Republick incens'd at ſo ſtrange a proceeding; and foreſeeing that this change would cauſe a great diſorder in affaires, implor'd the aid of the *Turk* to ſuſtain themſelves, and to revenge the injury done them. *Bajazet* who was unwilling to diſpleaſe the *Venetians*, forgot that he had promis'd not to diſturb the Chriſtians; or rather violated his word in that reſpect, and prepares a conſiderable Fleet to invade *Italy*. The news preſently ſpread it ſelf over all *Europe*. At *Rome* the

alarum was taken, as if the enemy had been already at the Gates; and the Pope foreseeing the danger of the Church, if the *Turks* should enter *Italy* during the discords of the Christian Princes, and knew himself to be guilty of the discontent of the Republick, made it his whole business to divert the storme. The King of *Naples*, whom the danger more nerely concern'd, follow'd the Popes steps, and by common consent had recourse to the Grand Master, to whom they both wrote, and sent to him the Knight *Carraffa*.

But never was Embassie more to less purpose; for the care of the Grand Master had prevented the requests of *Ferdinand* and the Pope. He understanding sooner then they, the preparations that were made at *Constantinople*, and likewise knowing the private motives to that Engagement, labour'd incessantly to divert the storme before it began to break forth. The Publick good, and the particular Interest of the Church excited his diligence to keep the com-

mon

mon enemy out of *Italy*: And his obligations to the King of *Naples* made him more Solicitous to omit nothing that might preſerve the Kingdom of his Benefactour and freind from the invaſion of the *Barbarians*. Therefore not to looſe time, he diſpatch'd away to the Grand Signior a *Rhodian*, whoſe name was *Moſco Perpiano*; a man 'tis true of low birth, but of an exalted genius, and capable of great affaires; and beſides that, very proper to negotiate with the *Turks*, as being one who had lived long in *Turky*, and perfectly underſtood their humour and language. And this was he that treated with the *Sub-Baſha* of *Pizzona* about the truce, and firſt diſcover'd the cunning of *Achmats* Letters.

Moſco, after he had made known to the Grand Signiour, with whom he had a private audience, the Intereſt of his Highneſs to live in freindſhip with the Grand Maſter gave him to underſtand by degrees, that the *Venetians* were about to engage him in a bad deſigne. To that intent,

tent, he represented to him that this great preparation was the ready way to bring upon him all the forces of *Europe*. That the most divided of the Christian Princes would not faile to reunite for the defence of their Religion and Crowns. That *France* who glory'd in assisting the Popes and the Holy See, would infallibly join with *Italy* upon such an occasion, and lay aside for a time their pretences to *Naples*. That whatever care the Knights could take, that they should not make use of the person of *Zizim* against the *Ottoman* Empire, it would not be any longer in their power to keep him. That the King of *France* would force him out of their hands in spite of all their strength, and put him at the head of an Army, and then nothing was more to be fear'd then a Popular rising at *Constantinople*, which might happen to be attended with a total revolution. *Mosco* added according to his Instructions, that the Grand Master being of that accompt as he was among the Christian Princes, he could

could not poſſibly prevent his being engag'd in the Quarrel, how great ſo ever his deſire might be to keep a good Correſpondence with the Court. That if the preparations which the *Turks* made againſt *Italy* ſhould infringe the accommodation which had been made upon *Zizim's* ſcore, he had no reaſon to blame the Knights, who are ready punctually to obſerve all the articles of the treaty. *Moſco* then gave the Grand Signiour to underſtand that *Rhodes* was not in a condition to fear him, the ruins being repaired, and new fortifications daily added by the Grand Maſter.

This diſcourſe of the *Rhodian* took ſingular effect. *Bajazet* was ſo mov'd at it, that he ſtood a good while without making any anſwer, caſting frightful looks here and there, which ſhew'd the agitation and diſturbance of his mind. At length rows'd out of a deep contemplation, and looking ſomewhat more calmely, he told *Moſco*, that in reſpect to the Grand Maſter, whom he ho-

noured as his Father, he had abandon'd the design which he had in hand. Then calling for *Basha Misach Paleologus*, and two other of his Ministers, he declar'd that he would not send his Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea, and commanded them at the same time to surcease all their preparations for war wherein they labour'd with an excessive earnestness. And that he might testify more of his freindship, and do him more honour, he wrote him a very obliging Letter, which he deliver'd to *Mosco*, the copy whereof follows.

Bajazet

Bajazet *King of* Aſia, *Emperour of the* Turks.

To the thrice happy Prince. Peter D'Aubuſſon, *Grand Maſter of* RHODES.

WE *have underſtood from the mouth of your Embaſſadour, what it is you requeſt at our hands. In truth you deſire great things, and which are of extream conſequence to our Empire. For a conſiderable Fleet is not to be ſet forth without great expence; nor is ſuch an enterprize to be quitted without ſome kind of diſgrace. But however, as I refer my ſelf wholly to your Counſel, and for that I can refuſe you nothing, for your ſake, I forget all my advantages. I*

ſurceaſe any further preparations, and engage to you upon my word, that my Navy ſhall not ſtir forth of the Streights *of* Gallipoly. *I do this willingly, out of the deſire I have, that you ſhould alwaies be my friend, as you ought to be, ſince that for your ſake I renounce both my intereſt and my honour. From* Conſtantinople *the fifth of the month of* Rabi el Evel *in the year of the* Hegira, 889.

April 13. *in the year of grace*, 1484.

Moſco return'd to *Rhodes* almoſt at the ſame time that the Knight *Caraffa* arriv'd there. That new Embaſſador of the Pope, and the King of of *Naples* was ſurpriz'd to ſee that with all his haſte he was come too late. So that finding his work done, he return'd as he came, at leaſt that he might be the firſt that ſhould bring the tydings, carrying along with him to the Pope and King *Ferdinand*, the Copy of the Letter of the Grand Signior. A reſolution ſo ſudden, and ſo happy, extreamly rejoyc'd all

all *Italy*, and the Pope was ſo ſatiſfi'd with the Grand Maſter, that ſpeaking of him to the Knight *Quendal*, Procurator of the Order at *Rome*, he call'd him ſeveral times, *The Buckler of the Church*, and *The Preſerver of Chriſtendom.*

Nevertheleſs, the Chriſtian Princes, whoſe Dominions were neighbouring upon the *Turk*, did not yet think themſelves ſafe, fearing that *Bajazet* would not long keep his word. For that reaſon *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile*, *Arragon* and *Sicily*, made it all their moſt earneſt ſuit to the Grand Maſter to have *Zizim* in their power. He would by no means grant them their requeſt; but he promis'd them that ſo long as he had the *Sultan* at his diſpoſition, he would keep the Grand Signior from enterprizing any thing upon their Dominions.

Bajazet lookt upon this Refuſal for a ſignal piece of ſervice, and thought himſelf ſo oblig'd to the Grand Maſter, that he reſolv'd to make him a conſiderable preſent as a mark

mark of his Gratitude. But not finding any thing of value enough to his mind amidſt all the wealth of his Empire, he underſtood by ſome of his Renegado Confidents, that he could not make a more pleaſing or acceptable preſent to the Grand Maſter, then the hand of St. *John Baptiſt*, which was then in his Father *Mahomet*'s Treaſury.

The Grand Signior overjoy'd at ſuch a diſcovery, caus'd the hand to be immediately ſent for, togethet with the ſhrine wherein it was kept, and cauſing it to be put into a Cypreſs box lin'd within with Crimſon Velvet, and ſet without with an infinite number of precious ſtones, he ſent it by one of his favourites, call'd *Cariaty Bey*, with a Civil Letter, the Inſcription whereof was thus.

Bajazet *King of* Aſia, *and Emperor of the* Turks, *to the thrice wiſe, and thrice illuſtrious* Peter D'Aubuſſon, *Grand Maſter of* Rhodes, *thrice generous Prince, and Father of a moſt glorious Empire.*

This hand was ſaid to be the right hand

hand of *John the Baptiſt*, which was learnt out upon this occaſion, if the Vice-Chancellour *Cacurſin* may be believ'd.

It was an ancient Tradition confirm'd by the Hiſtories of the *Greeks*, that St. *Luke* the Evangeliſt having embrac'd the Chriſtian Faith, the love which he had conceiv'd for St. *John Baptiſt*, inſpir'd him ſecretly to take up his body bury'd in the City of *Sebaſtia*, between *Eli* and *Abdias*. To this purpoſe he went thither with ſome of St. *John*'s Diſciples, who were then living; but conſidering that they ſhould hardly be able to carry the body away without being known and ſtopp'd, he cut off the hand that baptiz'd Chriſt, as the moſt noble part of the whole body, and carry'd it to *Antioch*, where he kept it all the while he ſtay'd there. But going to preach in *Bithinia*, he left the Relick with ſome of his moſt truſty friends ſtill at *Antiochia*, where it was publickly ador'd for the ſpace of three hundred years, till *Julian* the Apoſtate attempted to aboliſh

aboliſh the worſhip and memory of Martyrs, burning what remain'd of them. Particularly, he caus'd this hand to be thrown into the fire; but the piety of particular perſons ſav'd it from the fury of the *Pagans* at that time.

In the time of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, to honour the Conſecration of *Santa Sophia*, the head of St. *John* was by the Emperour's command fetch'd from *Edeſſa*, and the hand from *Antioch*; though he return'd them again after the Conſecration was over. But in the time of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenites*, an Emperour that was mighty devout, and had a huge fancy for this Relick, one *Job*, a Deacon of *Antioch* ſtole this hand to preſent to the Emperour, who put it in the Church of St. *John, of the Stone*, where it remain'd till the time of *Mahomet* the ſecond, who remanded it into the Imperial Treaſure with other Relicks and rich ſhrines, out of which *Bajazet* took it to preſent to the Grand Maſter, who laid it up with great ceremony at *Rhodes*. Theſe

Theſe Marks of affection which the *Ottoman* Emperour ſhew'd to the Grand Maſter, open'd the eyes of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*. That *Barbarian* had violated the Peace without any pretence, as we have ſaid; and his perfidiouſneſs carry'd him ſo far, as to ſtop the *Rhodians*, who traffick'd under the publick faith at *Alexandria*, and in other places of his Dominions. But now he began to alter his behaviour, when he ſaw the good correſpondence which was between the Port and the Order of St. *John*. The fear he had, leſt the Knights ſhould take a freſh revenge, made him before-hand in appeaſing them. To that end he ſent an Embaſſadour to *Rhodes* with rich preſents, and a very civil Letter, wherein he blam'd his paſt proceedings, and accus'd the folly he had committed. *Duan Aga*, for that was the Embaſſadour's name, did the beſt he could to enhance the value of his Maſter's preſents and excuſes. He promis'd ſolemnly an inviolable fidelity, and offer'd all ſorts of Pledges for performance.

formance. Whatever reſentment the Grand Maſter had of the Injuries of *Cairbei*, he ſaid nothing then: for though he made little accompt of his promiſes, and judg'd of the future by what was paſt, he thought it not amiſs to make his advantage of the preſent; and that which made him determine it the rather was, becauſe he had intelligence, that *Bajazet* notwithſtanding all his publick and ſpecious demonſtrations of Amity, had an inveterate enmity againſt the Order, not only becauſe it protected his Brother *Zizim*, but alſo becauſe he had oblig'd him to quit his deſign upon *Italy*. So that the little reliance which the Grand Maſter had upon the *Turkiſh* Faith, made him renew a peace with one that was openly perjur'd.

Now becauſe the advice which they daily receiv'd at *Rhodes* of the ill intentions of *Bajazet* were every day confirm'd, the Grand Maſter thought it neceſſary to precaution himſelf againſt whatever might happen. He ſent Barks into *Sicily* and the

the Kingdom of *Naples* for Corn; he alſo made uſe of the ſeeming friendſhip of the Grand Signior, to fetch all ſorts of grain out of the moſt fertile Countries of *Turky*, before the *Ottoman* Court had laid aſide its Vizor, and had openly brok'n with the Order, he gave command at the ſame time to lade the great Ship of the Treaſury, then upon the Coaſts of *Provence*, with ammunition and ſouldiers, and that a great Veſſel of *Raguſa*, then in the Port of *Rhodes*, ſhould ſail to *Samos* for wood proper to build the Ships and Engines of War. As for the fortifications, beſides that he made all the ditches wider and larger; he rais'd new works toward the Sea, and among the reſt a Ravelin that extended from the Tower of *Naylac*, to the Bulwark of *France*.

But while the Knights prepar'd for War in the midſt of a profound Peace, *Sixtus* the fourth dy'd in the heat of the troubles of *Rome*, which the *Colonna*'s and *Urſini* had divided into two Factions.

The

The Cardinal of *Santa Cecilia*, a *Genoese*, and of the house of *Cybo*, but originally of *Rhodes*, as being the place where his Father was born, succeeded *Sixtus* in the Government of the Church, by the name of *Innocent the Eighth*. He was no sooner elected, but he wrote to the Grand Master in such terms as shew'd a particular esteem for his person. Among other things he exhorted him to maintain generously the interest of the holy See, to shew himself an example to Christian Princes, and at last assur'd him of his favour. *The Order*, said the Pope in his Brief, *of which you are the Chief, is more dear to me then ever; and if God favour our designs, you shall alwaies find me ready to oblige you in whatever concerns yours, or the honour of the Order.*

The Grand Master receiv'd this Letter like a true Son of the Church; and presently sent his Embassadors to *Rome* to tender his obedience to the new Pope. *Edward de Carmandin*, Bayly of *Lango*, and *Will: Caoursin*, Vice

Vice Chancellour of the Order were the chief of the Embaſſy; who made their entry into *Rome*, with an extraordinary Pomp, and five days after had audience of the Pope, in the preſence of all the Princes, Embaſſadours and a great number of prelates. *Caouerſin*, in that renowned aſſembly made a ſpeech full of piety and eloquence. He firſt acknowledg'd the authority of the holy See, and *Innocent* for the Vicar of Chriſt, and *Peters* ſucceſſour. Then in particular he declar'd the Grand Maſter's joy for the election of his Holineſs, and the hopes which the *Rhodians* had to ſee Chriſtnaniſm flouriſh under the pontificat of a Pope ſo zealous for the Chriſtian faith. After that he recounted the victories which the Knights had obtain'd againſt the infidels, particularly in the laſt ſiege of *Rhodes*. And laſtly he offer'd his Holineſs the ſervice of the Knigths, aſſuring him that they ſhould eſteem themſelves happy to ſpend their blood to the laſt drop in the defence of the Holy See.

The Pope return'd an answer himself to *Caoursin*'s speech. Wherein after he had in general terms extold the valour and zeal of the Knights, he dilated upon the merits of the Grand Master, and confess'd that the Church was infinitely oblig'd to him. The next week the Embassadours had a particular conference with the Pope, at what time they presented to him a precious stone of an extraordinary figure and colour, several exquisite perfumes, and a rich Vase full of pure Indian Balsom. But the Pope who desir'd nothing more then to restore peace to *Italy*, and who fear'd nothing more then an invasion of the Infidels, turn'd his discourse upon *Zizim*, and told the Embassadours that for the good of Christendom it seemd very necessary that he should be brought to *Rome*, or to some other City of the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Embassadours not having any commission in that particular, they could return no answer, only that they would signify his Holiness's pleasure to

to the Grand Maſter. However they receiv'd ſeveral favours before their departure, & had the honour to carry his Canopy upon the purification of the Virgin, with the Embaſſadours of *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Florence*. But as a particular grace to the Order, he granted to the Prior of the Church of *Rhodes* a power to remit all ſins which are reſerv'd to the Holy See, to alter vows, to abſolve from oaths, from Irregularity and Simony. He gave them liberty alſo to have a portative Altar to ſay Maſs either by Sea or Land, as alſo before day, and in places forbidden by Eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

In the mean time the King of *Naples*, who after the death of *Sixtus*, was terribly afraid leſt the *Venetians* ſhould moleſt his dominions, and that the *Turk* ſhould come to revenge their quarrel, deſir'd more earneſtly then ever to have *Zizim* in his poſſeſſion. To which purpoſe he wrote new Letters to *Rhodes*, which he deliver'd to the Embaſſadours who paſs'd through *Naples* in their return home.

But while *Innocent* and *Ferdinand* demanded *Zizim* from the Grand Maſter, the *Soldan* of *Egypt* urg'd the ſame requeſt. *Caerbei* had intelligence that the Great *Turk* was about to enter *Caramania* with a powerful Army to puniſh *Caraman*. So that he was afraid leſt the *Turks* ſhould ſoon after carry their arms into *Syria*; and he knew no other expedient to ſtop *Bajazet*, then to oppoſe *Zizim* againſt him. But the arrival of the Baily of *Lango* and the Vice Chancellour of the order drew him out of that perplexity whereinto the Embaſſadour from *Egypt* had plung'd him; for when he underſtood the Popes Intentions, as to what concern'd *Zizim*, he gave the *Soldan*'s Embaſſadour to underſtand that the Soveraign Prieſt of Chriſtendom having a deſigne to ſend for the *Ottoman* Prince to *Rome*, the Knights could not diſpoſe of his perſon not determine any thing without the conſent of the Holy See, to which the order of St. *John* was particularly ſubject. In the ſame man-

dinand

ner he excus'd himſelf to King *Ferdinand*, accompanying his excuſe with many civilities, not being willing to diſpleaſe a Prince whom he could not gratify, yet deſir'd to ſerve. But in regard he knew the Pope was not able with his forces alone to undertake any conſiderable enterprize; and believing withal, that ſhould he ſend *Zizim* into the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he ſhould put an obſtacle to the Holy league through the jealouſies which the Chriſtian Princes would be ſubject to apprehend, he repreſented to his Holineſs withal the earneſtneſs and reſpect that might be, that he could not let go *Zizim* without expoſing Chriſtendom to manifeſt misfortunes. That ſuch a change would give ſuſpition to *Bajazet*, and enforce him perhaps to put to Sea, and land in *Italy*. He added alſo that the Invaſion of the Infidels was very much to be fear'd, before all *Europe* was firſt united againſt them. However that he would ſubmit the affair to his Holineſs whoſe prudence and juſtice he very well underſtood.

It was about this time that the Grand Master did a very eminent piece of service for the *Genoeses* in protecting for them the Island of *Scio*, which was under their subjection, by the gift of *Andronicus Paleologus*, after they had restor'd him to his throne. For *Francis de Medicis* scourd all the Levant Seas with a well arm'd Galliot, and had taken considerable prizes from the *Turks* near the *Island* of *Scio*. The parties concern'd complain'd to the Cady of *Tire*, who was a person of great credit in the *Ottoman* Port, and order'd their business so well, either by presents or false testimonies, that the *Mahomet* Judge condemn'd the people of the Island to make good all the losses which the *Turks* had sustain'd, as if the Islanders had shar'd with the Galliot, because the Captain had taken in fresh provisions in the Island. The Grand Signior also confirms the *Cadi*'s sentence. But to chastize the Island the more severely, which at *Constantinople* was accompted a Receptacle for Theives and Pirates,

Pirates, he laid upon them a moſt enormous tax, and threatn'd the Iſlanders with ruin, if they did not ſpeedily pay it down. The inhabitants reſolv'd to juſtify themſelves at the Port, and to repreſent humbly to the Grand Signior their inability to pay ſuch great ſums. But the *Barbarian* would hearken neither to their reaſons not their prayers, and commanded his Vaſſels to go and ſack *Scio*.

The Iſlanders had bin loſt without hope, if the wiſeſt of the Company had not adviz'd them to have recourſe to the Grand Maſter. There upon they earneſtly beſought him to be their protectour at ſuch a time of calamity wherein only his authority could ſave them.

The Grand Maſter hated, too much, injuſtice and violence, to ſuffer the oppreſſion of a poor people that were altogether Innocent, and were not in a condition to defend themſelves. Thereupon he wrote to the Port, and did it ſo effectually, that *Bajazet* cancell'd the Judgment, and remit-

ted the Tax which himself had impos'd.

Cardinal *Paul Fregosa*, Duke of *Genoa* immediately return'd thanks to the Grand Master in a very civil Letter. But the Lords *Monesi*, who were the chief in *Scio*, and happen'd to be at *Genoa* at the same time, deputed Signior *Lanfranco Patera*, a person of quality and merit to carry him a testimony of their Gratitude. It was a Bason and Eure of Gold of exquisite workmanship, on which these Latine words were graven.

Dominorum Chii Reverendissimo Petro D'Aubusson, *MAGNO MAGISTRO RHODI, DE SE OPTIME MERITO DONVM.*

Much

Much about the ſame time the Grand Maſter receiv'd Intelligence of the death of *Charlota de Luſignan* Queen of *Cyprus* and *Armenia*. This unfortunate Princeſs was conſtrain'd to quit *Rhodes*, and travel to *Rome*, as I have already ſaid in the beginning of this Hiſtory. Pope *Sixus* the fourth receiv'd her magnificently, and undertook her intereſt very zealouſly; ſo that he perſwaded the chief of the Iſland more then once to acknowledg her for their Soveraign Queen. The Letters from his Holineſs were read publickly at *Nicoſia* before the Church of *Santa Sophia*, and made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon their ſpirits, that the people took Arms, ran in throngs to the Pallace, and maſſacr'd the Uncles of *Katherine Cornara*, who were accuſed to have poyſon'd *James* of *Luſignan* her husband. But the *Venetians* by whoſe authority *Katherine* raign'd, or rather who rul'd under the name of *Katherine*, appeas'd the ſedition and quickly maſter'd it.

Charlota ſeeing that all the ſolicita-

licitations of the Pope, produc'd no good for her, went to *Lewis* her husband in *Piemont*. The Lord of *Montjeu*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent Embaſſadour to *Venice*, gave a viſit to *Lewis* and *Charlota* at *Montcalier*, where they liv'd, and promis'd them according to the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from his Maſter, to repreſent their rights to the Senate. But all his Remonſtrances proving ineffectual, the Princeſs return'd to *Rome*, and there ſettl'd herſelf after the death of *Lewis*, who piouſly ended his days in a kind of ſolitude, whither he was retir'd. She ſuperviv'd him ſome years, and during her widowhood ſhe gave the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* her Nephew, to whom it otherwiſe belong'd by the articles of marriage between *Charlota* and *Lewis*. This Donation was ſolemnly made to the procuratours of *Charles*, of the number of which was the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and by vertue of this Act it is, that the Dukes of *Savoy* take upon them the Title of

of Kings, and pretend to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*.

The news of her death ſenſibly greiv'd the Grand Maſter, who had always lookt upon her as one of the moſt accompliſh'd Princeſſes of the world,

In the mean time the Emperour of the *Turks*, having rais'd a numerous Army, and made himſelf Maſter almoſt without any trouble of thoſe Provinces that were left the Grand *Caraman*, he turn'd his Arms againſt *Syria* and *Egypt*, incens'd at the *Soldan*, for that he had with diſdain deny'd him the wife and children of *Zizim*. For how falſe ſoever he were in other reſpects, he was faithful in that, out of I know not what fantaſtick piece of honeſty; which ſhews us that men are ſometimes contrary to themſelves, and that the wicked, like mad men, have their lucid Intervals.

Now, though the preparations all over *Turky* ſeem'd only to bend againſt the Dominions of *Cairbei*, yet the King of *Hungary* took the Alarum.

rum. And as thunder when at first it begins to grumble in the clouds, seems to threaten most they that hear it nearest; this Prince probably thought the Tempest would fall upon him, if he took not care in time to divert it. Yet as great a Souldier, and as a Potent as *Matthias* was, he thought that the Grand Master would be a necessary assistance to him; for which purpose he sent to him *Pauli de Rhetas*, his Secretary and his favourite.

Rhetas declar'd at the first Audience which he had at *Rhodes*, that the King of *Hungary* was resolv'd to make War against the *Turks*, and in prosecution thereof, neither to spare his treasure, nor his life; and therefore desir'd to joyn his Arms with those of the Knights of St. *John*, but above all to follow the Counsels of the Grand Master in an enterprize of so much hazard and difficulty. The *Hungarian* Embassadour likewise added, that his Master had private correspondence with the Grandees of the Port, that several *Bassha's* had

had reſolv'd to forſake *Bajazet*'s Party, ſo ſoon as *Zizim* ſhould appear upon the Confines of *Hungary*, and at the head of the *Hungarian* Troops. That the intereſt of Chriſtendom requir'd that he ſhould ſend the *Ottoman* Prince in all haſte; and that it was a favour which a King illuſtrious for his piety and his valour requeſted from the moſt generous Knights in the world.

The Propoſal of *Rhetas* ſeem'd rational to the Grand Maſter and his Council. But there are certain nice conjunctures wherein the wiſeſt of men cannot follow ſometimes neither the common Rules of Prudence, nor their own particular Judgments. Though to all outward appearances, and upon a ſerious conſideration of the bottom of things, it had been but reaſon to have truſted *Zizim* with the King of *Hungary*; yet the engagement which oblig'd the Grand Maſter to keep the Prince by vertue of the Treaty of Peace made with the Port, according to the Prince's own deſire, and the fear of offending his Holineſs, were

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the cauſe that the *Hungarian* Embaſſadour could obtain no other anſwer then a handſom denial. However, the Grand Maſter wrote to the King: and after he had inſiſted a while in particular upon the Advantage which Chriſtendom might receive from the perſon of *Zizim*, in caſe that *Bajazet* ſhould make any attempt againſt the Treaty, he told him that it being impoſſible for any War to be carried on againſt the *Turk*, without a firm league between the Chriſtian Princes, it belonged to the common Paſtor of the Church to aſſemble them together.

That ſuch ſort of enterpriſes ſeldom proſper'd, unleſs upheld by the Authority of the Church; and laſtly, that if the *Ottoman* Prince were to leave *France*, he could be no where better then at *Rome*, where he would be in the view of all Chriſtendom. neither too far off, nor too near the Eſtates of the Grand Signior.

The Conqueſt which *Bajazet* had made of *Curia*, and of other Provinces of the Grand *Caraman*, made the

the *Soldan* to believe that after he had refus'd to *Bajazet* the Wife and Children of *Zizim*, that he was certainly to expect the *Turkiſh* Army at his own doors. And therefore whatever ſtrength the *Cairbie* had, he thought himſelf but weak without the aſſiſtance of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. For that reaſon, to engage them to his Intereſts he diſpatch'd to *Rhodes*, *Riccio de Marini*, a Gentleman of *Cyprus*, and the ſame perſon who formerly came to ſerve Queen *Charlotta* againſt the Republick of *Venice*. *Marini* had Inſtructions to declare to the Knights that the advantages which they had gain'd in ſo many encounters againſt the *Turks*, put the *Soldan* in hopes of a happy ſucceſs, provided they would embrace his quarrel, and that he ſhould think himſelf invincible, if he could but have Prince *Zizim* at the head of his Troops.

The Grand Maſter ſenſible of the generous proceeding of *Cairbei* toward *Zizim*, almoſt forgot the ill uſage which the *Rhodians* had re-

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ceiv'd at his hands; and therefore he very civilly testified to his Embassadour, that he was very much troubl'd that the present condition of the *Rhodian* Affairs would not permit him to assist *Egypt*. That the Knights of *Rhodes* had made a peace with the *Turks*, and that they alwaies religiously observ'd the faith of Treaties. But in regard the Grand Master desir'd nothing more then to see two potent enemies of Christianity destroy one another, he added that since the refusal of *Zizim*'s Wife and Children, was the only cause of *Bajazet*'s anger, it was his advice that the *Soldan* should go on with the War, not doubting but that Heaven would favour so just a Cause as his. As for *Zizim* whom the *Soldan* requested, he told the Embassadour at length, that he could conclude nothing without advice from *Rome*. But that he would write to the Pope, and signifie to him that the *Soldan* had provok'd *Bajazet* to make War upon him only for detaining and preserving the Wife and Children

Children of *Zizim*; unwilling to ſacrifice to his Brothers fury what *Zizim* had moſt dear in the world.

The Grand Maſter's anſwer ſatisfi'd the *Egyptians*, and rais'd their courages, which the defeat of the Grand *Caraman*, their neighbour, had almoſt dejected. For the *Ottoman* Army conſiſting of a hundred thouſand men, being got by ſeveral ways into *Caramania*, and having quarter'd themſelves between *Pyramus*, the *Sar* and *Cidnus* near the old Caſtle of *Adena*, and the ruins of the ancient City of *Tarſus*, the *Egyptian* forces, that were not above fifty thouſand ſtrong, preſented themſelves in view of the *Turks* upon the banks of *Pyramus*, after they had croſs'd with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs the famous ſtreights that ſeparate *Syria* from *Caramania*. The Souldiers that compos'd the *Egyptian* Army, were call'd *Corcaſſian Mamalucks*, all Chriſtians that had renounc'd their Religion, or elſe never profeſs'd any, being raviſh'd from their Mothers breaſts, and bred

up in war from their Infancy. The Eunuch *Bassha*, General of the *Turkish* Army, gave them no time to rest, but attacqu'd them with fifty thousand Horse before they had time to understand the Ground. It was in one of those plaines that extend to the Mountain *Aman*, and where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*, that the Captain of the *Spahi*'s having pass'd the *Pyramus* over the Bridg of *Adena*, went on to assail the *Mamalukes*. Wearied as they were, they bore with an extraordinary vigour the first brunt, and fell on with such fury, that the Assailants were fore'd to defend themselves. After an obstinate fight which Night parted, the *Mamalukes* remain'd Masters of the Field. Above thirty thousand *Turks* were slain upon the place, the rest sav'd themselves in the Mountains, or else retir'd to the Castle of *Adena*, which they had fortifi'd a little before, though it were taken soon after by the Victors.

But that which made this victory more compleat was, that the same day,

day ten Gallies which *Achmat Baſha*, the Grand Signiours Son in Law, and Admiral at Sea, had ſent from the reſt of the fleet to waſt the Coaſt of *Syria*, were overtaken by a furious tempeſt, and daſh'd againſt the Rocks. This misfortune conſtrain'd *Achmat* to return to *Conſtantinople* with the reſt of the fleet. Paſſing through the Channel of *Rhodes*, in view of the City, not content to ſalute the Knights by diſcharging all his great Guns, he reſolv'd to ſhew their Captain a particular Kindneſs. For having ſet up a magnificent *Pavilion* in one of the faireſt of his Gallies, adorn'd with a great number of rich Pendants and Banners, he ſent a young *Turk* his Favourite, call'd *Oſman*, to viſit the Grand Maſter on his behalf. The Gally enter'd the Port with the ſound of Trumpets and Drums, mix'd with the joyful acclamations of the *Turks* that attended *Oſman*. They were all richly habited, nor had they the faces of men that made a ſhameful retreat. When the young *Turk* came

into the Grand Masters presence, he saluted him after the *Mussulman* fashion, and presented him a Letter wherein the *Basha* made him a thousand protestations of friendship and service. Afterwards having presented him with several stuffs of great value, and several rare pieces of workmanship, he told him with a good grace, that such a small present was not worth the famous Prince of the *Rhodians*. The Grand Master would not be behind either in civility or liberality toward the *Barbarians*; for besides the Caresses and the entertainment which he gave to *Osman*, he sent one of his most Illustrious Commanders with all sort of refreshments for the fleet, and rich presents for himself.

Scarce was *Osman*, who stay'd not above 3 hour in *Rhodes*, joyn'd with the fleet, but the Grand Master had Intelligence of their defeat, of which he heard not a word from them; the spies which he had in most parts of *Caramania*, and even in the Castle of *Adena* it self, giving him an exact accompt

accompt hereof. Beſides that the *Sultan* himſelf, well ſatisfi'd with the advantage he had won with his own forces, fail'd not in honour of his dignity, to give him a relation himſelf, as the perſon who had foretold his ſucceſs. But this proſperity did not blind *Cairbiy*, who knew it was not enough to vanquiſh, unleſs he made advantage of his victory. To this purpoſe he thought that an Embaſſie to the Pope might produce good effects, and he communicated his thoughts to the Grand Maſter, not daring to enterpriſe ſuch a thing without his counſel, nor hoping to obtain his deſires without his interceſſion.

In the mean while the Pope, who made it his buſineſs to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the *Turk*, was every day extraordinarily preſſing for the removal of *Zizim*, and he began to talk ſomewhat like a Commander. For how mild and moderate ſoever *Innocent* might be in his particular conduct, he was jealous of his authority, and would

make himself to be obeyd, when he acted for the publick good. The Grand Master, who knew what obedience he and the rest of the Knights ow'd to the Pope, as head of the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, was not desirous to stay for an express command. He therefore gave *Zizim* to understand the intentions of his holiness and finding the Princes inclination, he resolv'd at length to consent to what he could not handsomly avoid.

Besides that policy requir'd that he should gratify his Holiness, other reasons perswaded him to take that course. For the blow that the *Turks* had receiv'd, had put *Constantinople* into an uproar, and weakned the *Ottoman* Empire. *Bajazet* was not in a condition to enterprize any thing against the Christians, being in continual fear of the *Mahometans* after the *Soldan*'s victory. He was in hopes that the Christian Princes would open their eyes upon such a fortunate conjuncture, and that they would league themselves against

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the common enemy, when they ſaw *Sultan Zizim* in the hands of the common Father of the faithful; beſides that *Innocent* had good intentions, and only deſign'd to have *Zizim* in *Italy*, not pretending to have him at his diſpoſal. *Zizim* alſo himſelf began to be aweary of ſolitude, and deſign'd to change his reſidence.

All theſe conſiderations engag'd him to ſend to *Rome* the Baily of the *Morea*, and the Vice Chancelſour of the Order, with an ample procuration as to this affair. The Embaſſadours being arriv'd, and having had audience of the Pope conſented to the removal of *Zizim*, provided the King of *France* did not oppoſe it, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* might always attend him. *Charles* the 8th, who ſtood in need of the Pope for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, readily conſented to his Holineſs deſire, who wrote very urgent Letters to him for that purpoſe. And the Pope eaſily granted what the Knights requeſted, being perſwaded of the

good Intentions of the Grand Master, and only as he did, aiming at the publick benefit.

Thus the Commander *Blanchefort*, in his absence elected Marshal of the Order, and Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, brought away *Zizim* from the commandery of *Burgneuf*, according to the Letters directed to him from the Grand Master. The Prince was conducted by land to *Marseilles*, where the Great Ship of the Order attended him. By the way, he testifi'd more then once, that he was very glad he was going to *Rome*, after six years stay in *France*, and he requested the Knights not to forsake him. The voyage was not very fortunate; for never did the Sea of *Genoa* rage more, as if the winds had endeavour'd to drive *Zizim* back from the coasts of *Italy*. Nevertheless, maugre the storm, he arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia*, the sixth of *March*. 1489.

Leonard Cybo, the Popes Kinsman, was come to receive the Prince, and he acquitted himself very well of

of his commission: Putting into the hands of the grand Prior *Blanchefort* the Castle of the Town, which was appointed for the lodging of *Zizim*, in order to the promise which the Pope had made to the *Rhodian* Embassadours.

The Pope was very joyful for the arrival of the *Turkish* Prince, which inspir'd him with new thoughts of kindness for the Grand Master, that appear'd publickly three days after; for the Pope honour'd him with a Cardinals Cap in a new promotion upon the ninth of *March*. He gave him the Title of St. *Adrian*, and to render his purple more illustrious, he added to it by his express Bulls the Title of Legate General of the holy See in *Asia*.

The Cardinal *D'Angers*, venerable for his Age, and for his vertue as well as for his Purple, and in whom fortune shews that a low extraction sometimes serves to exalt great Merit, went to meet *Zizim* twelve miles out of *Rome*, with Prince *Francis Cybo* the Son of *Innocent*, who had bin mar-

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ry'd before he entr'd into holy Orders, and Son in law to the famous *Laurence de Medici*. They saluted the Prince in the name of the Pope, and in such termes, as testifi'd no less affection for his person, then respect to his birth, and taking upon him themselves to be his guide, they brought him straight to *Rome*.

Dominico Doria, Captain of the Popes Guards, stay'd for him on horseback without the City, accompani'd by a great number of considerable persons without the City, neer the Gate of St. *Sebastian*; that being the Gate through which the Prince made his entry. The *Turks* who serv'd him, and all his other *Domesticks* march'd first; the *Cardinals* Gentlemen next to them; follow'd by all the *Roman* Nobility, that never were more lively, nor better mounted. Then appear'd *Doria* at the head of his light horse, follow'd by the Knights of *Rhodes*, after whom rode the Embassadours of the several Princes, all but of *France* who with Prince *Francis Cybo*, the Grand

Prior

Prior *Blanchefort*, and the Senator of *Rome* immediately preceded *Zizim*. He rode alone, mounted upon a ſtately horſe, which he manag'd with a comly Grace. He was clad, as uſually the *Turkiſh* Emperours are upon ſolemn days. His countenance was haughty and majeſtick, which being temper'd with a ſweet melancholy, attracted all at once reſpect, compaſſion and love. His Holineſs ſteward follow'd behind with an innumerable company of Prelates that belong to the Popes houſe. And in this order they came to the Vatican.

The Cardinal of *Angers*, who had taken his leave with in two miles of the Town upon pretence of going to advertiſe the Pope of his approach, but indeed becauſe he would not be one of the *Cavalcade*, either becauſe of his dignity or his age, met him at the Gate of the place, and conducted him to the apartiment of Pope *Clement*, where the Grand Maſter *Raymund Zacoſta* held a General Chapter of the Order under

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the Pontificate of *Paul* the 2d.

The day following the Grand Prior *de Blanchefort*, and the Embassadours of *France*, conducted him to his audience of the Pope in a full consistory. They had advertiz'd him that it was the custom to kiss the feet of his Holiness, and the greatest Kings in the World thought it no dishonour to condescend so far. But he had much adoe to stoop to that condescention; and some say that all he could be brought to, was to bow to kiss the Popes hand. He saluted the Cardinals after a manner that was neither humble nor disdainful, but as became a person of so high an extraction. Though he were born eloquent, and at other times spake very fluently, yet he only spoke four or five words very briskly, and those in *Turkish*, whether it were that the luster of so famous an assembly dazeld him, or whether he thought it below the Majesty of an *Ottoman* Prince to make a long discourse. *George Jaxi* a *Rhodian* his interpreter declar'd, that

that he only said, he was extreamly glad to see *Rome*.

Innocent, whose head was full of high designes, and who aim'd at no less then to free the Orient from the Tyranny of the Infidels, promis'd to himself a most happy success, at the sight of *Sultan Zizim*, and believ'd that the Son of *Mahomet* was sent him from Heav'n to be serviceable to him; for that purpose the Embassy also which he receiv'd at the same time from the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, strengthen'd his hopes. For *Cairbei*, at the perswasion of the Grand Master did homage to the Holy See, and engaging to enter into the Holy League, promis'd to set forth the most puissant Army that ever march'd out of *Egypt*.

His Holiness was so sensible of these high services of the Grand Master, that to manifest to all the world how much he was satisfi'd, and to bestow upon him in particular the solid marks of his favour, he granted him an axtraordinary priviledg, so much the more considerable, be-

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cause he parted from his own right in granting it.

The Popes in possession were to provide for several benefices of the Order of *Rhodes* and they claim'd that right by the authority which they have in general over all Religious Orders, and in particular over that of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. This right did *Innocent* renounce by a consistorial Bull sign'd by all the Cardinals, depriving the See of ever conferring any commandery of the Order, though the benefice should happen to be vacant in the Court of *Rome*, and declaring withal by the same Bull, that the disposal of all commanderies absolutely belong'd to the Grand Master, without being compriz'd under such benefices as the Popes had reserv'd, or might hereafter reserve.

He also granted to the Grand Master the power absolutely to dispose of the benefices and military Revenus of the Holy Sepulcher, and St. *Lazarus*, uniting those Orders again to that of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*

him by an expreſs Bull, wherein his Holineſs himſelf made a particular Elogium upon the Grand Maſter and the Knights.

The Grand Maſter who now began to intitle himſelf Cardinal, Grand Maſter, was extremely ſenſible of all theſe favours which he never requeſted, and believ'd to be above his merit, accompting as nothing what he had done, and daily accuſing himſelf that he had not fulfill'd the duties of his calling and his truſt. He ſolemnly receiv'd the Cap in the Church of St. *John* Baptiſt upon St. *Peter* and *Pauls* day; and he was at the ſame time proclaim'd Univerſal Legat of the *See* in *Aſia*.

Theſe favours and new dignities put the Grand Maſter upon new cares and aſſiduities. And in regard the revenues of the Order were very much encreas'd by the addition of the Orders of the Holy Sepulcher and St. *Lazarus*, he appli'd himſelf preſently to the ſettlement of the treaſury; and he made very wiſe laws for the good goverment of the publick re-

venue

venue, as may be ſeen in the Book of the ſtatutes of the Order. He made other laws touching elections and Sentences, which are obſerv'd to this day, full of prudence and Juſtice.

But the peaceable ſtate of affairs, together with new acceſſions of wealth and plenty, gave the Maſter opportunity to rebuild the ruin'd Churches, and among others that of St. *Anthony*, which was the burying place for the Knights, and which he himſelf had caus'd to be pull'd down for the ſafety of the City. It was built in another place much more magnificent then before.

Some years ere that he had founded a Chappel under the Name of the Holy Virgin, in the Church of *Monteil-au Viconte*, the place of his birth; but underſtanding that the building remain'd unfiniſh'd, he aſſign'd a certain ſtock of mony to go on with the work, and perfect it. He alſo founded ſeveral others in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and one in the Church of Mount *Palermus*, to increaſe the devotion of the people. But

But theſe were not the principal Employments of the Cardinal Grand Maſter; for when he ſaw himſelf cloth'd with the Purple Robe, he thought himſelf more than ever oblig'd to ſerve the Holy See, as he had ſuddenly ſeveral important occaſions to do.

It is impoſſible to imagine what was the extreme ſurprize and diſconſolation of *Bajazet*, when he underſtood, that his Brother was at *Rome*. He had underſtood before, that ſuch a deſign was in hand; and becauſe there was nothing that he feared more, to fend off that blow, he made great offers to *Charls* the 8*th*. Beſides that he promiſed him all the Relicks that his Father had found in *Conſtantinople*, and in other Cities of *Europe* and *Aſia*, he engaged to ſend him all his Forces for the recovery of the Holy Land, which was under the Dominion of the Soldan of *Egypt*, and to pay him what-ever he demanded for the maintenance of *Zizim*. But theſe propoſitions took no effect;

for *Zizim* was not in *France* when the Ambassadors arrived.

The Grand Seignior's vexation redoubled, when he understood what Confederacies the Pope and the Soldan had made together. He loudly complained of the Conduct of the Grand Master; and by an expres Ambassador, he bloodily reproached, even to threaten him, that he would never observe any Laws of Civility with men, that did not keep their word. As fierce as the Grand Master was, he did not always give way to his Passion; for when affairs required moderation, there was no person more tractable, nor more condescending than he. Therefore to appease *Bajazet* at a time, when it was not for the good of Christendom to exasperate him, he gave him to understand, That the removal of *Zizim* did not at all injure the Treaty of Peace, the Tenor of which was, in respect of the Sultan, That the Knights should be answerable for his Person, and should do their utmost, that

he

he ſhould not fall into the hands of any Prince. He aſſur'd him, that *Zizim* was in *Italy*, under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, as he was in *France*, and that no Prince could call himſelf Maſter of his Perſon. He added alſo, That the change of his Reſidence was by the abſolute order of thoſe whom the Knights were bound to obey. Beſides, that this change, if rightly conſider'd, had nothing in it but what was advantageous to the Port: That *Charles* the Eighth, a Perſon of great deſigns, might have taken *Zizim* out of the Commanderie of *Bourgneuf*, when-ever he had had occaſion to make uſe of him; whereas being in the Pope's power, he could make no advantage of him. In regard that not having a power ſufficient of himſelf, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to joyn with other Princes, if he intended to carry a War out of *Italy*. That an Union was a difficult affair, and ſuch a one as required long time, as being oftentimes croſſed by the jealouſies

of Princes; and at this time impoſſible, becauſe of their diviſions.

The Grand Maſter declared moreover, That *Bajazet* had nothing to fear, while he kept himſelf quiet; but the leaſt motion againſt *Italy* would awake all the Princes of Chriſtendom, and enforce them to an Union againſt him. That now the beſt courſe he could take, was, to manage his buſineſs in *Italy*, to break the Correſpondencies of the Soldan. That an Ambaſſador of the Port would be well received at *Rome*, and that he was onely there to ſeek for the ſucceſs of his affairs.

The Grand Seignior, who was not then in a condition to be revenged for the breach of word, which he pretended, and found probability enough in the Grand Maſter's Reaſons, never ſtood long to conſider what he had to do: He reſolved to be quiet, and to follow the counſel which had been given him touching an Embaſſie to *Rome*. But that he might know more exactly what he had to ſay to the

Pope,

Pope, and after what manner he ſhould proceed, ſent another Ambaſſador to the Grand Maſter. This Negotiation continued ſeveral moneths, in which time there were nothing but continual Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Rhodes*. The Grand Maſter however put no confidence in theſe Embaſſies, but expected a Rupture, ſo ſoon as *Bajazet* ſhould have an opportunity to diſplay his ſecret hatred againſt the Knights; and therefore that the Pope might have time to make a League between the Chriſtian Princes, he ſpun out affairs as much as he could, either by creating difficulties, which perplexed the Grand Seignior, or by giving ambiguous Anſwers, which were unſatisfactory.

While things thus paſſed between the Knights and the Turks, one of the Popes Legates had like to have ſpoiled all by his imprudence. *Philip de Canova*, whom the Pope ſent to the Soldan, being arrived at *Caire*, publickly declared very idly, and without any ground, That the

Knights of *Rhodes* had no power in the affair of *Zizim*. He ſpoke this ſo openly, and upon ſo many occaſions, that the report thereof came to the Port. This news cool'd the Grand Seignior as to any further Negotiation with *Rhodes*, now growing jealous that the Knights did but abuſe him; and it had come to an open War, had not the Grand Maſter dextrouſly reconcil'd what the Legat had ſpoil'd: He declar'd ſo loudly the contrary, and by the Popes Letters themſelves ſo well over-turn'd the falſity that *Canova* had averr'd, that, in a ſhort time, he regain'd the former confidence which *Bajazet* had in him. The Negotiation was renew'd, and it was on both ſides agreed, that the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who was come to *Rhodes*, to be preſent at the General Chapter, and was to return to *Zizim*, ſhould conduct the Ambaſſador of the Port, that was to go to *Rome*.

An act ſo dextrous, and ſo ſucceſsful, ſoon made a noiſe over *Europe*,

Europe, and very much advanc'd the Reputation of the Grand Maſter; He was the diſcourſe of all the Courts of *Europe*, and his name was ſo famous in that of *Caſtile*, that a young Lady of eminent Quality, having forſaken the World, admiring what ſhe had heard of the prudence and virtue of Cardinal *D' Aubuſſon*, reſolv'd to found a Nunnery according to his Model of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*: To which purpoſe, ſhe requeſted leave of the Cardinal; who over-joy'd to ſee ſuch pious and virtuous inclinations in a young Lady, readily condeſcended. Thereupon the Lady, whoſe name was *Iſabella di Leon*, deſcended from one of the moſt antient Families in *Andalouſia*, founded a Houſe of Religious Virgins, of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*; and the Founder was named Princeſs by the Grand Maſter, the Nuns are to be all of Noble Race, and to be approved as the Knights are; and they are particularly to pray for the Knights, and, as much as in

them lies, to forward the ruine of *Mahumetiſm*, and the exaltation of the Faith. *Iſabella Fernandes* founded alſo another Houſe of Nuns in *Evora*, a City of *Portugal*, in the time of *Villerius*, Grand Maſter.

But to return to *Bajazet*, *Chamisbuerch* his *Capigi Baſha*, his Ambaſſador to the Pope, arrived at *Rome*, and was preſented to his Holineſs by the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who accompani'd him to the City. The Grand Maſter, when he counſelled the Embaſſie, adviſed the Grand Seignior to make a Preſent to the Pope, and above all things to ſend him the Head of the Lance that pierced the ſide of Chriſt, which *Mahumet* laid up in in his Treaſury among the rich Spoils which he found in the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. The Relick was ſuſpected at firſt, but upon the teſtimony of the Grand Maſter, the Infidels were believed, who teſtifi'd, that he had had it from very credible perſons, that the *Venetians* had offered *Mahomet* 15000 Crowns in Gold,

Gold to retrieve it out of his hands, after the taking of *Conſtantinople.*

But in regard it was the intention of the Grand Seignior wholly to gain the Pope, he added to his Preſent very obliging Letters, wherein, after he had given him an account of an Expedition which he had made againſt the Rebels of *Macedonia*, he ſwore an inviolable friendſhip with him, and beſought him, that his Brother *Zizim* might always remain under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, according to the Articles he had made with them.

Theſe ſubmiſſions of *Bajazet* very much pleaſed the Pope, and were no ſmall honour to the Grand Maſter: He had a thouſand Applauſes in *Italy*, and received the Complements of all the Chriſtian Princes. But an unhappy accident did not long permit him quietly to enjoy this Honour; for a young Gentleman, of a good Houſe, who was then in the ſervice of the Knight *Puis*, Bayliff of the *Morea*, and Captain of the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, ſtealing away

away from his Masters House, and having renounced his Religion in *Turkey*, the Peace was just upon the point of being broken between the Christians and the Turks.

For the Bayliff of the *Morea* touched to the quick at what had befall'n his Page, took a strange resolution to recover him; he Sallies out of the Castle with some Soldiers, and entring into *Lycia*, he takes, by way of Reprisal, two young Turks, Sons of the most considerable person in the Countrey, notwithstanding the resistance made by their Father, whom he slew with his own hand. So violent an act seemed to the Barbarians a visible breach of the Peace. They take Arms, and march directly to the Castle of St. *Peter*, whether the *Bayliff* of the *Morea* was retired with his Prey. The Sultan *Zalibi*, the Grand Seignior's Son, and Governour of *Lycia*, sent an Agent to *Rhodes*, to complain of the Attempt made by the Knights of the Castle of St. *Peter*. The Bayliff's act

act was neither prudent nor juſt, ſo that the Grand Maſter could not but, with ſorrow, very much reſent it: and he had not ſtuck a moment to have delivered both the Children back again, but that one of them reſtified an inclination to turn Chriſtian. But the young *Turk* declaring, that he was reſolved to continue a *Muſſulman*, and hated the very thought of Chriſtianity, the Governour of *Lycia* was ſatisfied with the reſtoration of the two Priſoners.

Thus was the Tranquility of the Province re-ſetled, nor had the Subjects any thing more to fear, but onely the Rapines of certain Pirats that infeſted their Coaſts; the moſt famous was *Don Diego Ordonna*, a Spaniard by Nation, a perſon bold and daring, of a ſavage humour and a beſtial valour, more barbarous than the Infidels, cruiſing all Coaſts with an Armed Caravel, and acknowledging no Right but Force, nor any God but Intereſt. He had taken a little before certain Merchants Veſ-

ſels

sels within sight of *Rhodes*; and his power at Sea was grown so formidable, that the Ships of the Order durst hardly venture out of the Port.

The Grand Master could not brook the Insolencies and Robberies of this *Castilian* Pirate. And knowing that *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, who were then subduing the *Moors*, did not allow a *Castilian* Pirate to be so vexatious to the Christians; he sent against him the Knight *Raymond Thivian* with his Galley, and another Man of War with a Crew of stout Knights; who coming up with this Pirate, pli'd him so warmly, that he was constrained to yield, after a vigorous resistance: he was brought to *Rhodes* chain'd hand and foot, and afterwards broken alive upon the Wheel; his Goods, that were Confiscated to the Grand Master, were, by his order, distributed to the Merchants that he rob'd.

The Island of *Lango* was, about this time afflicted with several calamities together; a horrible and sud-

ſudden Earthquake, that laſted for ſeveral days, threw down moſt part of the houſes in the Countrey of *Naranga*; and what was more lamentable, this calamity happen'd in a time, that a dreadful Contagion over-ſpread the Iſland. It is not to be imagin'd how much the Grand Maſter was afflicted for the miſeries of theſe poor people, nor how great his cares were for their relief. He ſent two great Veſſels, laden with all neceſſaries, for their ſupport, and cauſed the Lake of *Naranga* to be ſpeedily cleanſed, and the Tyde to be let into it, to carry away the noiſome Vapours that might corrupt the air. And ſo well his pains ſucceeded, that the Contagion ceas'd ſo ſoon as the Lake was cleanſed.

But theſe employments at home, did not make the Grand Maſter forget his affairs abroad: He continually ſollicited the Pope to pacifie *Italy*; and he beſought him ſtill to conclude, with all the ſpeed that might be, a League between the Chri-

Christian Princes. But all these solli-citations and prayers took no effect. *Innocent* died of a sudden, and all those hopes that all good men had conceived died with him. The ad-vancement of *Roderic Borgia*, by the name of *Alexander* the Sixth, little avail'd to comfort the Grand Master for the loss which the Church had received. The humour of the new Pope promised little good to Christendom; for there was little good to be expected from a person, who had purchased the Suffrages of the Cardinals to enjoy a place, of which he knew himself unworthy. He had been Protector of the Or-der of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* while he was Cardinal, and by a Brief which he sent to the Grand Master, he declar'd, That the Knights of *Rhodes* should still be in his most favourable thoughts. But the Ef-fects were no way answerable to his words. *Alexander* first shewed his Pontifical Authority, by taking into his own possession the Person of Prince *Zizim*, contrary to the Agree-ment

ment made between *Innocent* and the Knights. He ſhut up the *Sultan* the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and diſmiſſing the Knights who had always been about him, put him into the poſſeſſion of his Nephews, of which one was a Knight of *Rhodes*. His pretence was, that a life ſo pretious as that of the Prince, would be leſs expoſed to the Ambuſcado's of his Enemies in a ſtrong place; and that one Knight of *Rhodes* being near him, the reſt were needleſs in a place that did defend it ſelf: and theſe excuſes he ſent by an Expreſs to the Grand Maſter. But the true motive that induc'd the Pope to this act, was, becauſe that underſtanding the King of *France* was preparing for an Expedition into *Italy*, he would have wherewithall to croſs or promote his deſigns, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for his Intereſts. For *Charles* the VIII. did not onely intend the Conqueſt of *Naples*; for Fame every where reported, that he was reſolved to have carried his Arms into *Greece*. Whether this

deſign

design were onely in thought, or actually intended, I will not dispute; but certain it is, that he communicated it to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the Affairs of the Order enforced to travel out of *Italy* into *France*; and he testifi'd several times the earnest desire he had to see the Grand Master, that he might consult with him about a Voyage beyond the Seas.

Zizim was extremely displeas'd to see himself in the hands of *Alexander*; and under the Guard of his Nephews, being always accustom'd to the Knights who had accompani'd him both in *France* and *Italy*. As they had always great respect for him, and, in serving him, had always sought to make his condition more pleasant; he lov'd them tenderly, and could not chuse but shed tears when he took his leave of them. He did for them all that lay in the power of his Fortune; he wrote to the Grand Master in their behalf, representing to him the value of their services, and assuring him,

him, that what ever favours he beſtowed upon them, he would put upon his own account, as done to himſelf. He beſought him likewiſe not to abandon an unfortunate perſon, who ow'd his life to him, and from whom he could only hope for a change of his condition.

In the mean while, *Charles* the *8th.* paſs'd the Mountains at the head of all the Gallantry and Stoutneſs in his Kingdom; and having croſs'd, like a Victor, the half of *Italy*, he march'd on, and preſented himſelf before *Rome*. The Pope, of whom he only demanded paſſage through his Countrey, was afraid left, under that pretence, he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the City; but the preſence of ſo great an Army would not permit him to liſten to his fear, he granted what he could not refuſe. And though the King, by a publick *Manifeſto*, declar'd, that he only came to *Rome* to accompliſh a Vow that he had made, and that he only went to *Naples* in his way to *Conſtantinople*,

yet he gave no credit to his words.

For *Alexander*, who had no kindness at all for the *French*, and had disoblig'd them upon several occasions, easily imagin'd, according to his Principles, that they would not lose so fair an opportunity to revenge themselves. But as he had a nimble craft, he sought always to give them satisfaction, and condescended to what-ever they desir'd. He gave the young Conquerour the Investiture of both *Sicilies*, and Crown'd him Emperour of *Constantinople*. Besides that, he deliver'd into his hands Sultan *Zizim*, whom the King had chiefly requested, out of a design to pursue his Conquests into the East, after he had master'd *Naples*. The *Ottoman* Prince was surrender'd to the *French* by a solemn Act, and with a publick Ceremony, where *Alexander* and *Charles* were present. He saluted *Charles* after such a manner, as neither bespake him a Barbarian nor a Prisoner. After he had kiss'd his Shoulder and his Hand, with a lofty

Air

Air, he told the King, That he hop'd the French would, in his perſon, conſider the *Ottoman* Race; and added, that when they ſhould croſs over into *Greece*, he ſhould find a way to acknowledge their Civilities. *Charles* was raviſh'd with admiration of the Great Soul which he ſaw in the *Sultan*, and treated him with ſo much Courteſie and Generoſity, that *Zizim* teſtifi'd his joy for being fall'n into the hands of ſo generous a Monarch.

They departed from *Rome* for *Naples* both together; but the poor Prince, who prepar'd himſelf to aſſiſt the Enterpriſe of the *French*, and who was in hopes to raiſe his own Fortune by following theirs, felt himſelf ſtruck by the way with an unknown diſtemper, that carri'd him off in a few days. His death ſurpriz'd all men, and there was great enquiry made into the cauſe. They that were of the Popes's party reported, that he gave himſelf too much over to his Pleaſures the firſt days of his liberty, and that he

kill'd himſelf with exceſs of Debauchery. Others ſay, that the *Venetians* corrupted with money by the *Turks*, and alarm'd at the *French* Expedition, had ſecretly given him poiſon. But moſt accuſe the Pope to have deliver'd him poiſon'd to *Charles* the 8*th.* to the end that *France* ſhould get no advantage by him; and the report ran, that *Alexander* receiv'd a good ſum of money to perform that wicked act.

Reynald. Annal. Eccleſiæ, An. 1495.

Thus ended the life of *Zizim*, an unfortunate Prince, and yet more illuſtrious by his Misfortunes then by his Birth. Some think he dy'd a Chriſtian, and that he was Baptiz'd at *Rome* before the death of *Innocent* the 8*th.* But thoſe Authors, who have ſpoken moſt of this Prince, ſay nothing of his Converſion; which makes me believe, that, to aggravate his misfortunes, he dy'd a *Mahumetan.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Sixth.

THE Grand Maſter, who took very heavily the news of *Zizim*'s Captivity, could not receive the news of his death without indignation and horrour; and he found himſelf laden with all the grief that a man could have, for the death of a perſon ſo extremely dear

to him. But when the Intereſt of Chriſtianity intermix'd with that tenderneſs, all his Fortitude was little enough to ſupport him from being wholly depreſt by an accident ſo Tragical. He ador'd the profound wiſdom of God, that would not ſuffer the Chriſtians to reap any advantage from the perſon of the *Ottoman* Prince, and permitted them, who had moſt intereſt to preſerve him, to be his deſtroyers. But he admired as well the conduct of Providence, that would not give the Infidel liberty to gain any benefit by his death; but to unhinge all their deſigns, gave Victory to the Triumphant Arms of *France* in *Italy*.

Ferdinand King of *Naples* being dead of an Apoplexy, after *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary*, and Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, who both died of the ſame diſeaſe; *Alfonſo*, a wicked Prince, hated by the Nobility and People, ſucceeded his Father; but terrifi'd by the rapid march of the *French*, and fearing beſides the dire effects of publick Rage,

Rage, he left his Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, and retir'd into *Sicily*. The new King alſo follow'd the example of *Alfonſo*; and after he had awhile diſputed with the *French* the Avenues of the Kingdom, abandon'd it quite; ſo that the King of *France* made himſelf Maſter of the Capital Cities without ſtriking one ſtroke. All *Turky* trembled at the progreſs of the *French* Army, and the terrour was ſo great at *Conſtantinople*, that the Prieſts of the *Mahumetan* Religion publickly cri'd out, That the *Turkiſh* Empire was loſt without redemption.

Now before the Forces, appointed for the Expedition of *Italy* ſet out of *France*, *Charles* the 8*th*. had ſent to *Rhodes* the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, to deſire the Grand Maſter to meet him at *Rome*. He alſo diſpatch'd away to him the Commander of *Angers* with very urgent Letters, ſo ſoon as he had croſs'd the Mountains. More then this, as he earneſtly deſir'd this Enterview, though whether to be truly inſtru-

ſted as to the deſign he had upon the *Levant*, or to dazle the World, that it ſhould not be known which way he bended, is uncertain; he deſir'd the Pope to write to the Grand Maſter, and wrote to him alſo with his own hand. And indeed his Letter was the moſt civil and engaging in the world: For after that he had declar'd, that he could not live without his counſel, nor enterprize any thing upon the *Levant* but under his Conduct, he conjur'd him to haſten his Voyage, for the reaſons which he had declar'd to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* his Nephew, to whom he had open'd his mind as to a Knight of great prudence, and of abſolute experience.

This Letter coming to *Rhodes* before the Grand Prior, whom ſtreſs of weather had beaten off from the Iſland, the Grand Maſter, who believ'd ſuch flattering expreſſions could not be ſincere; and who ſaw but ſmall foundations for a deſign that *France* made ſuch a ſtir about,

re-

return'd for anſwer to the King, That he could not but highly applaud his Majeſty's Zeal; That it was too much honour for him to fight under his Banners, or to contribute any thing to the Glory of his Atchievments. But in regard the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* had order to declare to him the whole ſecrets of the Affair, he daily expected to obey his Majeſty's Orders.

The King, out of his impatience to ſee the Grand Maſter in *Italy*, wrote him a ſecond Letter ſo ſoon as he was enter'd *Naples*. He alſo deſir'd Cardinal *Briconnet*, and Cardinal *de Garce*, who accompani'd him, and to whom the Pope had given Caps at his inſtance, to write both of them to the ſame effect. The firſt only exhorted him in general terms, not to deny that which was requeſted of him with ſo much ardency. The ſecond, who had more zeal, went more home to the buſineſs, and after he had given him an account of all that had paſs'd

paſs'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, deſir'd him that he would condeſcend to be a Tutor to a young Conquerour, who was wholly intent upon the delivery of *Greece*, and whoſe hopes depended upon the Counſels of a Captain ſo experienc'd, and ſo formidable to the Enemies of the Faith. He added, That in that little time that ſo glorious an Enterpriſe was delay'd, the opportunity was in danger to be loſt. That it was to be fear'd, leſt the debaucheries that uſually attend upon great Conqueſts, might corrupt the Courages of the *French* Soldiers; That the ſins of Victors might draw upon them the malediction of Heaven; That the Enemies of *France* ſow'd jealouſies in the minds of the Princes of *Italy*, to engage them to croſs the deſigns of *Charles*; and that all preparations were making to form a League againſt him. That ſeveral, under the pretence of the good of his Kingdom, advis'd him to return into *France*, before he enter'd upon the

the Holy War. The Cardinal at laſt concluded, That the ſole preſence of the Grand Maſter was enough to ſtay the King, and to aſcertain the Expedition into the *Levant*.

But the Letters of the Cardinals did not work that effect which they expected. The Grand Maſter was confirm'd by their own reaſons, that the Expedition which they projected againſt the *Turks*, was not an Enterpriſe that had any ſolid ground: he was a little diſtruſtful of the inconſtancy of the *French*, and the Youth of the Conqueror. Beſides, he underſtood, that the League againſt *France* was almoſt come to a period, and that the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, the *Emperor*, and the King of *Spain* had all entred into it. He had alſo news at the ſame time, that the *Turks*, enrag'd at the death of *Zizim*, were ſetting forth a conſiderable Fleet, and that the Tempeſt threatned the Iſlands of the Order, with whom they had now no more occaſion to deal ſo warily. So that his Voyage into *Italy* appearing

pearing useless, and his presence being necessary in the East, he thought it sufficient to congratulate *Charles* the 8*th.* for his Conquest of *Naples*, and to flatter him with that of *Constantinople*; assuring him, that a Prince so valiant and so fortunate as he, had need of no other Conductors then his own Courage and Fortune to bring the greatest Enterprises to pass: That the Knights were over-joy'd to see him so advantagiously seated for a beyond-Sea Invasion: and concluding his Letter, That he had not yet heard from the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom he either thought to be cast away, or taken by the Pirates.

The event shew'd, that the Grand Master had no such reason to be hasty in his Voyage. For *Charles* the 8*th.* himself speedily on a sudden leaves *Naples*, and bends his march for *France*. Whether it were, that that restlesness which is natural to the *French* caus'd him to quit what he had Conquer'd, or whether all *Europe* Leagu'd against him, occasion'd his re-

retreat. However, there was no diſcourſe after that, either of any Expedition beyond Sea, or of any Conqueſt of *Conſtantinople.*

At the time that *Charles* abſolutely laid aſide all thoughts of the Holy War, *Maximilian* began to plot it in his mind, either out of a real Zeal, or an Envious Emulation to reproach the *French* in ſome ſort, that they had not done what they boaſted to do againſt the *Turk.* However, he did not think it convenient to do any thing without adviſing with the Grand Maſter: To which purpoſe he ſent unto him *Ralph of Wittenbergh*, Knight of *Rhodes*, and Grand Prior of *Germany.* This new Ambaſſador declar'd at a publick Audience, That *Maximilian* having reſolv'd to turn all the Force of the Empire againſt the common Enemy, he durſt not venture to proceed, till he had conſulted before-hand the Cardinal Grand Maſter, the Oracle of the Chriſtian Princes, the Terror of the Infidels, and Glory of the Eaſt: That he de-

desir'd private Ties of Union, and an entire correspodence with him, to the end he might follow his directions in all things, which he desir'd him not to refuse to those that requested them sincerely.

The Grand Master made answer publickly, That he was highly oblig'd to the Emperour for his Reliance and Esteem; but that he did not deserve those splendid Titles with which his Imperial Majesty had honour'd him; and that though the Order had signaliz'd themselves against the Infidels for some years since, those happy Successes were to be attributed to the valour of the Knights, and the Protection of Heaven. After which, in a discourse in private with the Ambassador, he laid open to him all the insight which he had into the Holy War, what Enterprises were to be undertaken against the *Turk* either by Sea or Land, and which were the most probable ways to succeed.

The wrongs and damages which the *Turks* at that time did to the Vessels

Veſſels of the Order, did not a little help to heat the Grand Maſter, and cauſe him to cloſe with the deſigns of the Emperor. Several Infidels that inhabited the Coaſts of *Lycia*, neareſt to *Rhodes*, put to Sea every day, and pretending themſelves to be Pirats, pillag'd the Iſles of the Order; they alſo made inrodes into *Caria*, and brav'd the Knights even to the very Gates of the Caſtle of St. *Peter*. The Grand Maſter ſends out certain Veſſels againſt theſe pretended Pirats, of which, ſome were taken, and puniſh'd to the utmoſt of their deſerts. But theſe diſorders continuing, he writes to the Port, to know whether the Grand Seignior authoriſed theſe violences or no. The Pirats intercept the Letters, and kill the Bearers. The Grand Maſter being advertiz'd thereof, ſought a more ſure way to write to *Bajazet*, and did it with all the fierceneſs that a juſt reſentment could inſpire him with. Now though *Bajazet* were, as we ſaid before, exaſperated in his heart againſt the Knights, and had little

little value for them ſince the death of his Brother; yet he was ſtill unwilling to diſplay his fury: So that he order'd the *Beglerbei* of *Anatolia* ſeverely to puniſh the Criminals. He alſo ſent to *Rhodes* a Prudent and Intelligent Perſon, to examine the Loſſes which the *Rhodians* had ſuſtain'd, and to aſſure them, in the name of his Highneſs, that all ſhould be reſtor'd with Intereſt.

While the Grand Seignior labour'd in this manner to ſatisfie the Grand Maſter, ſome of the *Rhodians*, interreſted in the Goods which the Pirats had taken, ſecretly ſet forth ſome Veſſels, and exercis'd ſeveral acts of Hoſtility upon the Coaſt of *Lycia*, pillaging Villages, taking Ships, and carrying away the very perſons of the *Turks*. When the Grand Maſter was inform'd of it, he would not ſtay till the *Beglerbei* complain'd; he caus'd the chief in the Enterprize to be Arreſted; and having diſcover'd that the Knights had a ſhare, he nam'd Commiſſioners to examine the matter,

matter, reſolv'd to proceed againſt the guilty with all the rigour of the Statutes, which poſſitively forbid the Knights to ſet forth any Veſſels of War without expreſs leave.

Thus was the Grand Maſter perplex'd at home; abroad he was as ill ſatisfi'd with the Church of *Rome*; For *Alexander* became more proud then ever by the retreat of the *French* Army, had no regard to the Priviledges which his Predeceſſor had granted to the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, touching the Collation of Benefices.

Francis Boſſolx, a *Catalonian* by birth, one of the moſt Antient and moſt Illuſtrious Knights of his Language, had conferr'd upon him by the Grand Maſter the *Priory* of *Catalonia*. The Pope not conſidering either the Age, or the Merit of the Knight, conferr'd the ſame Priorate, with the Commendary of *Navelles*, upon *Lewis Borgia* his Nephew. So unjuſt an act eſtranged all their hearts from the Pope, and occaſion'd much trouble

at *Rhodes*. It was therefore resolv'd in Counsel to complain thereof in all the Courts of Christendom, and particularly to that of *Spain*. To which purpose Commissioners were named, and the Grand Prior of *Portugal*, the Bayliff of *Negropont*, the Commendator *Villel*, and the Knight *de Gotor*, in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassadors. The Grand Master wrote to *Ferdinand* a long Letter, wherein after he had set forth how much scandal and disorder the injustice of *Alexander* had caused in the Order, he besought his Majesty to espouse their Interests, and to mediate vigorously for them to the Pope.

Ferdinand, who was not ignorant of the Services which the Grand Master had done the Holy See, found his complaints so just, that he presently put the Knight *de Bostolz* in possession of the Priory of *Catalogne*. He assur'd the Ambassadors also, that while he liv'd, no other Knights of *Rhodes*, but such as were appointed and endow'd by the Grand

Grand Maſter, ſhould enjoy the Revenues of his Order within his Dominions. He alſo wrote to the Pope at the ſame time, and very earneſtly repreſented to him, That the courſes he took ſteer'd directly to the ruine of the Order, wholly devoted to the Holy See. That the Zeal of the Knights was not altogether ſo pure and Angelical, but that they had an eye upon Temporal Recompences, while they fought againſt the common Enemy of the Faith; and that both their Zeal and Courage too would cool, when they beheld the Price of their Labours and their Sweat in the hands of Strangers and unknown Perſons: So that if his Holineſs did not preſerve their Priviledges, it might be fear'd, that the Rampart of Chriſtendom might be expos'd to the fury of the Infidels.

Alexander ſubmitted to the Reaſons, or at leaſt to the Authority of the King of *Caſtile*. He revoked the Collation which he had made in favour of his Nephew; and the Grand Maſter gave the Commen-

derie of *Wovelles*, with that of *Baioles* to Don *Ferrand* of *Arragon*, of the Royal Family, and very dear to the King of *Caſtile*, having before that created him a Knight.

In the mean time intelligence came, that the *Turks* were building great Ships, and every where made great Preparationsfor War. Thereupon the Grand Maſter ſent an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, in ſhew, to Congratulate the Grand Signior upon his recovery from ſickneſs, but really to penetrate into the deſign of thoſe new Preparations. *Bajazet* kept his deſign very ſecret: but the publick rumor of the Port was, that thoſe Preparations were intended againſt *Egypt*, and was a report probable enough.

Cairbei had been dead ſome months before, and the youngeſt of his Sons was advanc'd to the Throne by the ſubtilty of a *Circaſſian Mamaluke*, who did what he pleas'd at *Caire*, and pretended to govern during the Minority of the Infant. But an abſolute Authority

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in one particular Subject is always ſuſpected and odious. The principal Nobility of the Court would not endure the new Government; ſo that inſtead of doing Homage to the new Sovereign, they revolted from him, and made Confederacies with the *Turks* to deprive him of his Crown. The Grand Maſter was inform'd of the rumour of the Court, but he believ'd it ſo much the leſs, the more the Grand Signior's Miniſters deſir'd it ſhould be believ'd. He kept himſelf upon his Guard, and gave order for every thing. He engag'd in the Service of the Order all Strangers Ships that us'd the *Levant* Seas. He hir'd Companies of *Spaniſh* Infantry out of *Sicily*, from whence he alſo ſent for Corn in abundance. The Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, after a dangerous Voyage, at length arriving ſafe, had order to go for *France* to make his Complements, and to deſire aid of the Succeſſor to *Charles* the VIII. who was dead of an Apoplexy, a diſeaſe fatal to great men in that

Age. Thereupon *Lewis* the XII. who had a great eſteem for the Grand Maſter, kindly receiv'd the Grand Prior, and order'd two and twenty great Ships to be made ready for the ſervice of the Knights.

At that time, the Grand Maſter underſtanding, that *Henry* the VIII. King of *England*, laid out for the faireſt *Turky* Carpets that were to be got, preſented him with ſome that were very rare. *Henry* became ſenſible of the Civilities of the Grand Maſter, and, in acknowledgment, ſent him ſeveral excellent Pieces of Artillery, with ſome Horſes of an extraordinary Mettle and Colour. *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, who, of all the Princes of *Europe*, was moſt liable to be a Prey to the Barbarians, offered the Knights of St. *John* two Provinces of his Dominions, to engage them all together to his Intereſts. But the Grand Maſter was not of that humour to deſpoil a Prince, to protect him; he refus'd the offers of *Ladiſlaus*, but promis'd him all manner of aſſiſtance.

Blanche-

Blanchefort was no ſooner return'd to *Rhodes*, but the Armada of the *Turks* paſs'd through the Straits of *Gallipoly*; the Courſe they ſteer'd at firſt caus'd a great fear, that the Storm threaten'd the Order of St. *John*; but ſoon after it was ſeen to fall upon the Republick of *Venice*. The *Turks* pretended, that they had ſuffered great wrongs in *Romania*, and the *Morea*. Beſides that, the Proveditor *Prioly* having met a *Turkiſh* Veſſel alone near *Meteline*, and perceiving that the Ship, in ſtead of Loring Sail, fir'd at them with all her Artillery, fought and ſunk her. Now though the Act of *Prioli* was regular, however, it incens'd the Grand Signior, who lov'd the Captain of the Ship; for which reaſon he reſolv'd a War againſt them: nevertheleſs he did not at all declare his reſentment. For *Zancari*, whom the Senate ſent to diſcover the inclinations of the Port, received a thouſand Careſſes from *Bajazet*. Nay, the Barbarian deſir'd to renew his Alliance with the Repub-

ick; but he caus'd the Articles of the new Treaty to be written in *Latine*, to the end he might break it when he pleas'd, according to the Principles of the *Mahumetan* Law, which ſuffers them not to have any regard to their words in Contracts, that are not written in their own Language.

At the ſame time that the *Ottoman* Fleet ſail'd out of the Streight, the Grand Signior enter'd into *Romania* with a powerful Army, having impriſon'd before all the *Venetians* that were at *Conſtantinople*. One part of the *Turkiſh* Cavalry was divided from the reſt, and ſent to haraſs the Countreys of *Zara* and *Dalmatia*. General *Grimani*, who lay at *Modon* with the Fleet of the Republick, had implor'd the aſſiſtance of the Grand Maſter upon the firſt noiſe of the War. But he more urgently requeſted his aid, when he ſaw the *Turks* double the Point of the *Morea*. *Juſtiniani*, who commanded in *Candy*, joyned his requeſts with thoſe of *Grimani*;

and

and both of them ſent to *Rhodes* certain Letters from the Duke *Barbarigo.*

The Grand Maſter look'd on the attempt of the *Turks* upon the *Venetians*, as a violation of the Treaty of Peace made with the *Order*, by reaſon they were oblig'd not to moleſt the Chriſtians: ſo that he made no ſcruple to ſuccour the *Venetians* in the preſent Conjuncture. But becauſe he would not make too great a noiſe, he onely ſent them the *Spaniſh* Infantry that was come from *Sicily*, and ſome other Foreign Troops. The Republick alſo at the ſame time ſent to the King of *France*, to obtain of his Majeſty the Veſſels deſign'd for the aſſiſtance of *Rhodes*. Who thereupon being then in League with the Pope and the *Venetians* againſt the Duke of *Milan*, gave order to his Admiral to ſail away for *Greece*, to obſerve the countenances of the *Turks*; and in caſe that *Rhodes* were in no danger, to joyn with the *Venetian* Fleet.

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The noise of War inflam'd some of the Knights, and, amongst others, the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the affairs of the Order detain'd in *France* during the Siege of *Rhodes*: And therefore to satisfie the extreme desire he had to meet with the Infidels, he desir'd leave to go and serve the *Venetians*. The Grand Master, who, before he broke with the *Turk*, was desirous to see the success of the War with *Venice*, hesitated at first upon the proposal of his Nephew; but the bus'ness being deliberated in Council, it was order'd, that the Grand Prior should have his liberty, but that he should not take along with him above thirty Knights at most. So that *Blanchefort* came to *Modon* at the same time that the *French* Ships arriv'd there. As for the *Venetian* Fleet, they had not so many Vessels as the *Turks*, But they had better men, and Ships more fit for fight. The *Turks* therefore avoided meeting with the *Christians*, minding onely to husband themselves for some greater Enterprise.

priſe. But the Adventurers of *Rhodes* deſiring nothing more then a Battel, preſs'd *Grimani* not to loſe the opportunity. And indeed they might have fought, found, and vanquiſh'd the Infidels, had not the over-prudence of the *Venetians* rendred the heat of the *French* unprofitable. But the *Ottoman* Fleet conſiſted of 260 Sail, a number that aſtoniſh'd *Grimani*; ſo that inſtead of engaging, he did nothing but follow them aloof off. Thereupon the Grand Prior, and the *French* Admiral, who had a full reſolution to have ſignaliz'd themſelves, diſguſted at the conduct of the General, quitted him with a generous diſdain.

The Infidels embolden'd by the Cowardice of the *Venetians*, and by the retreat of the *French*, fiercely skirted along the Coaſts of *Morca*, and enter'd into the Gulph of *Lepanto*, whether *Bajazet* was come with his Army. The City was taken almoſt in ſight of *Grimani*, who had not the courage to relieve it.

This

This untoward news very much troubl'd the Grand Maſter: but the Peſtilence that increas'd in *Rhodes* much more afflicted him. He made excellent Orders to ſtop the Torrent of the Contagion; and to the end the Barbarians might not attempt any thing at a time ſo ſeaſonable for them, he kept in pay four Galleys, which his Nephew brought along with him from *Provence*; and having re-inforc'd them with Knights and Souldiers, he commanded them to cruiſe about the Iſlands; wherein he did two good acts at one time: for he preſerv'd the Iſlands from Pirats, and empti'd the City of a great number of People, which might have been ſwept away by the Peſtilence.

Lewis the XII. who made himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*, while the *Turks* took *Lepanto*, and who had a deſign to re-conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, out of which the *French* had been driv'n, thought himſelf oblig'd to aſſiſt the *Venetians* in the low Ebb of their Affairs: but he

he was perſwaded he could not do it, unleſs he acted by conſent with the Grand Maſter. For that reaſon he ſent to him two Heralds at Arms, who carri'd a Letter alſo to the Port, to the end that by his means they might travel ſafely through *Turky*, and have a favourable Audience. So ſoon as the Heralds came to *Rhodes*, the Grand Maſter, who had made no open Breach with the *Turks*, wrote to *Conſtantinople* for Letters of ſafe Conduct. To which *Bajazet* did not onely freely conſent, but gave order to the Baſha's of *Lycia* to go and meet the Heralds of *France*, and convoy them to the Port.

Eſarcho Centurino, a man of good judgment, and one of the principal Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, departed along with them, carrying a Letter of Credence, to beſeech the Grand Signior not to detain the Heralds long, and to make ſome ſmall Complement to his Highneſs as to the War which he made againſt the *Venetians*. Now though the Letters from

from *Lewis* were very haughty, and threaten'd the *Ottoman* Empire with the Force of *France*, if he did not ceaſe to moleſt the *Venetians*, and reſtore all that had been taken from them. *Bajazet* nevertheleſs receiv'd them very well; nor did he ſend them back without good Words, and magnificent Preſents.

As the King of *France* had ſent two Heralds by the way of *Rhodes*, the Grand Signior, by the ſame way alſo, ſent to the King of *France* two Grandees of the Port, of which, the one was called *Sivanbeii*, and the other *Muſtbeii*, to excuſe himſelf likewiſe to the Grand Maſter. In ſome ſort he endeavour'd, in a large Letter, to lay the blame upon the *Venetians*, and gave the reaſons that mov'd him to declare War againſt them. He pretended, that the *Venetians* had violated the Faith of Treaties, and the Right of Nations, exerciſing all manner of violences upon the *Turks*; of which, to the end he might be believ'd, he gave a long Liſt. And

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the more to defame the *Venetians*, he added, that the moſt Illuſtrious King of *France* knew well enough what wrongs they had done the *French*, when being onely Duke of *Orleans*, he accompani'd *Charles* the 8*th*. to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, when they proffer'd him ten Duckats for every Souldier to invade *Italy*; alledging, that if they did not ſtop the progreſs of the *French* Arms, they would at length aſſail the *Ottoman* Empire. All this the Grand Seignior wrote to juſtifie himſelf; but mention'd not a word how *Lodowic Sforza*, finding the King of *France* in League with the *Venetians* againſt him, had invited the *Ottoman* Arms againſt them; aggravating to the Port, that *Lewis* the XII. would certainly put in execution, what *Charles* the VIII. deſign'd, for the Conqueſt of *Milan* and *Naples*.

In the mean time, a Ship of *Rhodes* being bound from thence to the Coaſt of *Egypt*, was attack'd by a *Turkiſh* Gallion near ro *Alexandria*.

andria. The Knights who were in the Ship defended themſelves ſtoutly, and had reduc'd the *Turk* to the laſt extremity; but when the Ship was juſt upon the point of yielding, another Veſſel, well arm'd, came to her relief; ſo that the Knights were forc'd to quit her. They made for *Alexandria*, and putting up the Soldan's Colours, enter'd the Port. But the Admiral of *Alexandria*, a perfidious Brute, without any regard either to the Peace and Laws of Nations, made the Knights Priſoners, and ſent them to *Caire*, with all the Chriſtians that were in the Ship.

The Grand Maſter conjectur'd, by the attempt of the Gallion, that the *Turks* had no intentions any longer to keep fair with the Order. However, he complain'd to the Soldan of the Admirals behaviour, and that in high terms too, as of a violence inſupportable. The Soldan underſtanding, that ſuch ſharp complaints were as good as threats, and that he that made them would be as good as his word, diſown'd the

the Admiral, and releas'd the Priſ-ners.

But the Grand Signior's proceedings were far different. For all his Civilities to the Grand Maſter, and his Embaſſie to the Court of *France*, did not hinder the Infidels from continuing the War againſt the *Venetians*, nor from invading *Italy*. Twelve thouſand Spahi's entred into *Friuli*, through uncouth and difficult paſſages; and putting all to Fire and Sword, carri'd away above 20000 Chriſtians into Slavery. The Pope, who minded nothing but the advancement of his Family, till then had onely been a Spectator of the War; but now he began to think himſelf concern'd, when he ſaw the Enemy at his Gates. And beſides that his own Intereſt engag'd him to act, he thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour to wipe off thoſe reproaches, which the death of *Zizim* had thrown upon him, and to repair, by ſome notable action, what had been irregular in his Government. Thereupon he

undertook, with all the heat imaginable, to unite the Christian Princes, that he might put a stop to the incursions of the Barbarians.

Nor was his diligence unsuccessful. The Kings of *Castile*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary* declar'd themselves first of all. *Maximilian*, whom the Wars of *Guelders* and *Switzerland* had diverted from the *Turkish* War, entred into this Holy League with *Louis* the 12*th*. when their differences about *Milan* were ended, by the Marriage of the King's Daughter with the Emperor's Son.

The Grand Master convinc'd more then ever of the Infidelity of the Grand Signior, and not believing himself oblig'd to have any more respect for them, who had no more for him, Leagu'd himself with the Croisado'd Princes. And now Forces are raising all over *Europe*; Ships making ready, Money gathering together in all places; and the bloody Crosses that fell from Heaven in *Germany*, which *Maximilian* himself saw, seem'd to portend

tend a happy ſucceſs. The *Turks* take the Alarm at theſe Prepartions and Prodigies; though that which moſt affrighted them was the choice that was made of the *Generaliſſimo* of the League.

Alexander, who, among his wicked qualities, had ſome good ones, and who had a very ready wit, bethought himſelf, that to bring about ſo important an Expedition, nothing could be more available then the choice of an Experienc'd Captain, and ſuch a one as ſhould be acceptable to all the Princes. He caſt his eye upon the Grand Maſter *D' Aubuſſon*, and propos'd him in a full Conſiſtory, after he had made him a large Encomium. All the Cardinals applauded the Popes Propoſition. However, *Alexander*, before he made the Choice publick, reſolv'd to try the Inclination of the Grand Maſter. To this end he wrote to him in a very obliging ſtyle, nevertheleſs with a chargeable condition in his Brief, that the Order, during the time that the Grand Maſter ſhould

continue General, should keep out at Sea four Galleys, and four Barks, well appointed, for the Service of the League.

The Grand Master, who lov'd to act at his own liberty, ponder'd upon the Condition; and it may be his modesty had made use of this pretence, to rid himself of an Employment, which he thought above him, if the Council had not advis'd him to accept of the Condition at any rate whatever, and that the Letters of several Cardinals his Friends had not at length brought him to an absolute determination. Thereupon he wrote to his Holiness, That with all acknowledgment and humble bashfulness he was willing to take upon him the Charge, with which he was pleas'd to honour him: And he sent a very ample Procuration, as to this Affair, to the Commander of *Avignon*, then Vice-Procurator-General of the Order in the Court of *Rome*.

The Pope, not doubting but that his Proposal would be as acceptable

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to the Princes, as it was to the Cardinals, gave them advice of his choice, ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd the Grand Maſter's Anſwer. All the Courts of Chriſtendom applauded ſo wiſe a Choice; and this one Action did *Alexander* ſo much honour, that his Reputation was much repair'd thereby. Thereupon before all the Ambaſſadors of the Confederate Princes, he publickly declar'd the Grand Maſter *D'Aubuſſon*, Captain-General of the Croiſado.

After which, his Holineſs, by a Solemn Brief, fill'd with his Praiſes, gave him information of it. The Purport of the Brief was, That the Princes had approv'd the Choice which he had made of his Perſon; That they were very readily diſpos'd to obey him; and that his Experience, Valour, and Piety, gave them confident hopes of Victory. The Pope added, That he was reſolv'd to go to the War himſelf, notwithſtanding his Age, reſolv'd to partake with the Grand Maſter in all the Labours of a Chriſtian War-

fare, and to lay down his life, if occaſion ſhould be, to render the Expedition ſucceſsful. He ſent word, That there were 15 Galleys, which he had expreſsly caus'd to be made ready; and that the Biſhop of *Tivoly* had orders to ſend them away, ſo ſoon as they were fitted out. He alſo wrote him word, that he had given notice to the Princes by their Ambaſſadors, that his intention was, that they and all their Forces ſhould render to him the ſame Honour, and the ſame Obedience, as to the Head of the Church. Exhorting him him at length to defend the Faith upon this occaſion, with the ſame Courage and Virtue, with which alone he had defended it, when he forc'd *Mahomet* to raiſe his Siege from before *Rhodes*.

Lewis the XII. would not ſtay to acknowledge him till he was publickly proclaim'd at *Rome*; but ſo ſoon as he underſtood the Pope's intentions, he wrote to the Grand Maſter, That being willing to contribute to the Succeſſes of ſo noble

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an Expedition, notwithſtanding the Affairs he had in *Italy*, he was ſetting forth a Navy Royal, and that knowing his Prudence and long Experience in the Wars againſt the *Turk*, he had order'd his Admiral, *Philip de Cleves Ruveſteine*, to follow his Counſels in all things, and to Act by his Inſtructions.

The Praiſes and Applauſes which the Pope and the King of *France* gave him, did but re-double the zeal and diligence of the Grand Maſter: So that being now acknowledg'd the Captain of ſuch a famous Enterprize, his whole ſtudy was, how to bring it to good iſſue. The Summer being now paſt, and no Princes Fleet appearing; or if they had appear'd, the Seaſon being now paſt for any conſiderable Action, his firſt conſideration was to ſettle a Bank for the paiment of ſuch Forces as ſhould arrive, that they might not think of returning for want of Money. For he knew well, that onely Money could keep Souldiers together idle in the *Levant*. To

this purpoſe he ſent to the Pope and the King of *France* intelligent Knights, to let them underſtand, that without that precaution, there was nothing to be done againſt the *Turk*. That if the Souldiers of the League came not forthwith, they would not be in a condition for action the next Seaſon; and that, if being once arriv'd, they ſhould return for want of ſubſiſtence, the common Enemy would take advantage of their Retreat. He let them further know, That while the Forces of the Confederate Princes attack'd the *Turk* by Sea, it was neceſſary that the King of *Hungary* ſhould aſſail him by Land to make a diverſion.

But in regard the ſafety of Chriſtendom, in ſome meaſure, depended upon the ſafety of *Rhodes*, he was of opinion, that the Ships belonging to the Order ſhould not diſtance themſelves any farther then Cape *Malio*. He alſo thought it neceſſary, that the Fleet of the Confederate Princes ſhould not come

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to *Rhodes*, to ſpare them the labour of returning back to the *Morea*, and *Rhodes* the inconvenience of being eaten out by ſo many people. Upon which conſideration it was reſolv'd to ſend before to *Raveſtein*, to deſire him to ſtay at Cape St. *Angelo*, there to attend till the Maſter came himſelf to bring them into ſome good Harbour.

Raveſtein was already entred into the *Archepelago*, and ſteer'd directly to the Iſland of *Metelin*, to ſignalize himſelf immediately by ſome notable action. But in regard he hated Dependency, and was covetous of all the Honour to himſelf, ſo far was he from following the Orders of the Grand Maſter, that not vouchſafing to follow his Counſel, he onely ſent to invite him to come and joyn with him. However, though this ſeem'd a very diſobliging act of *Raveſtein*, yet the Grand Maſter more reſented the ill-timing of the Enterprize, then the ill-behaviour of *Raveſtein*, knowing well it was contrary to the King's Pleaſure,

ſure, and that the wills of Princes are uſually ill obey'd, when thoſe that are employ'd take upon them to follow their own inclinations. And indeed this Bad beginning of the League, created an ill opinion of the Event. Nor did the ſlowneſs of the Pope leſs trouble him, then the forwardneſs of the *French*. The fifteen Galleys that were to appear with the firſt, were not to be heard of; neither was there any news of the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, who had order to conduct them.

How zealous ſoever the Grand Maſter was to advance the Affairs of the *Croiſade*, he could not determine with himſelf to joyn with the *French* before the arrival of the Pope's Fleet. He conſider'd, that having no Inſtructions from his Holineſs touching the Duties of his Office, it behov'd him not to begin the Exerciſe of it. He conſider'd alſo, that in difficulties which might happen, the other Captains would be ſubject to diſpute his power, when they found the Galleys

Galleys of his Holineſs abſent. To avoid all theſe inconveniences, he preſs'd the Pope to keep his word, repreſenting to him with an extraordinary reſpect and zeal mix'd together, that his Holineſs being the Chief, and Soul of the Enterpriſe, there was nothing to be done without him. That the Fleets of the Chriſtian Princes would come in vain into the *Levant*, if he did not appear in the head of them. That as for his part, he deſir'd onely to acquit himſelf of the Charge wherewith he had been pleas'd to honour him, as having all his life-time onely ſought a fair opportunity to ruine the *Mahumetan* Puiſſance.

Raveſtein, who had unadviſedly engag'd himſelf in the Siege of *Metelin*, and began to ſee his fault, endeavour'd all he could to re-fix himſelf in the good opinion of the Grand Maſter, and to oblige him to come to his relief: He ſent to him by the Knight *de Gavaſton*, who was come to him on the behalf of the Order, that the *Venetians* having drawn him

him to *Meteline* before the arrival of the Knight, he could not avoid beſieging the City. That at firſt he had rais'd a Battery, which had no ſucceſs, as being planted againſt the ſtrongeſt part of the Wall; but that having chang'd his Battery, the Canon wrought wonders; but that he could not determine with himſelf to make a general Onſet without him; believing withall, that the Event of the Storm would not prove ſucceſsful, unleſs the Knights of *Rhodes* had their ſhare. That the *Venetians* had thirty Galleys before *Meteline*, not counting his. That for the Popes Galleys, they were not to be expected; nor did he know where his Holineſs ſhould have fifteen; for that being at *Naples*, he knew he had but two, which the Duke of *Valentinois* made uſe of againſt the Prince of *Piombino*; and that he could not learn that he had made any Preparations againſt the *Turk*; concluding at laſt, that he acknowledg'd the Grand Maſter for General of the Chriſtian Fleet, and

that

that he would not proceed any more without his Orders.

The Grand Maſter hearing no news of the Pope's fifteen Galleys, and not enduring that any thing ſhould be acted againſt the *Turk*, wherein he had not his ſhare, reſolv'd to ſacrifice his Reſentments to his Honour, and the Intereſts of the Church. He thought himſelf oblig'd alſo, for the Reputation of the Arms of *France*, not to deſert *Raveſtein*, what ever reaſon he had to be diſpleas'd with him. Therefore that he might act with Honour, beſides the four Galleys and four Barks which he was to ſet forth by the Articles of the League, he reſolv'd to take along with him the Great Ship belonging to the Order, twelve great Galliots, ſeveral Brigantines, ſeveral Foiſts, with ſome *Italian* and *Catalonian* Veſſels which he had hir'd.

At his departure, he left very good Orders behind him; for having declar'd the Grand Commander *Coſſa* his Lieutenant to govern with the Council, he preſcrib'd him every week

week to give publick Audience to the People: and in case any of the Knights should withstand him, to proceed against them according to the Forms and Rigour of the Statutes. The management of the Treasure, for a time, he committed to the care of the Admiral; and particularly charg'd the Grand Marshal to be exact in doing Justice to the Knights.

For the security of *Rhodes*, he gave order, that Guards should be kept in all the Posts of the Languages, as if the place were Besieg'd; and he himself nam'd such and such Knights to ride their Rounds about the Island, to hinder the Landing of the Barbarians.

The Council, in requital, to shew the particular esteem which they had for the Grand Master, order'd, That all the Knights that accompani'd him should enjoy the priviledges of Residence, as if present at *Rhodes*: That all Elections of Priors and Bailiffs should surcease in his absence, that he might deliberate upon

upon ſuch Affairs as ſhould preſent themſelves, and that his Decrees ſhould be of the ſame force and authority, as if iſſu'd out of his Palace: and that in regard a great number of Knights were to attend the Grand Maſter, it was ordain'd, that after their departure, no Knight ſhould ſtir out of the Iſland, but upon the urgent affairs of the Order.

Things being thus ſetled, and twelve Veſſels of the Fleet being gone before to ſtay for the Knights at *Lango*, the Grand Maſter embark'd the 21 of *November*, attended to the Sea by a great throng of People, who could not but let fall tears at his departure, eſpecially when they ſaw him threaten'd by a riſing Tempeſt ere he was out of ſight.

His impatience to be at the aſſault of *Meteline*, caus'd him to make all the haſte imaginable. Scarcely had he reach'd *Lango*, when the Knight *Baldovin*, whom he had ſent before to advertize the *French* and *Venetians* of his coming, brought him news

news that the Siege was rais'd; at the ſame time delivering him Letters from *Raveſtein* and *Peſaro*. *Raveſtein* ſignifi'd to him in a few words, That the Siege of *Meteline* being an Enterpriſe much more difficult, then it had ſeem'd to be to men of very good judgment, he thought fit to leave it off. That the Seaſon being far ſpent, his care was how to be gone before it grew worſe, which would be in two days at fartheſt, with his good leave. The Letter from *Peſaro* was larger, and more rational; the effect whereof was, That whereas *Raveſtein* had undertaken the Siege without adviſing with the *Venetians*, he had alſo rais'd it of his own head: That it was no wonder, that an Enterpriſe ſo ill manag'd ſhould have no better ſucceſs. That the *French* preparing for home, there was no likelihood that the *Venetians* ſhould ſtay at *Meteline*. That they were making to *Scio*; and that if it were his pleaſure they ſhould joyn with the Knights, they were ready to do what

what he ſhould think beſt for the good of Chriſtendom. *Peſaro* added, that there was no heed to be given to the Popes Promiſe, for that his Fifteen Gallies were onely in Idea. That the *Spaniſh* Fleet was about *Taranto*; and that the *Portugal* Fleet having gain'd *Corfu*, was return'd home, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of the *Venetians*, pretending they cou'd not ſtay long out in bad weather in thoſe Seas.

The Grand Maſter was more perplex'd at the ill ſucceſs of the Enterprize of *Meteline*, then ſurpriz'd at it. But believing that the return of the *French* Fleet wou'd do more harm to the Affairs of the League, then the raiſing of the Siege, he diſpatch'd away a Foiſt to *Naxi*, by which the *French* were to paſs, deſiring *Raveſtein* not to return till they had diſcours'd together. He ſent another to *Scio*, to deſire the *Venetians* to meet him at *Naxi*, and to let them know, that he had made great Preparations for their aſſiſtance; that he had left

Rhodes in a bad Seaſon, and almoſt contrary to the advice of his Council: That the misfortune of *Meteline* was not paſt recovery, and that they might return to the Siege with more ſucceſs, provided the *French* had not loſt their courage. He deſired *Peſaro* to ſtay *Ravenſtein*, at what rate ſoever, if they were yet together, or earneſtly to write to him, if they were parted.

The *Rhodian* Fleet ſet ſail from *Lango* preſently after the Foiſts, and, in ſpight of contrary Winds, arriv'd at length before *Naxi*. But *Ravenſteins* impatience to quit the *Levant*, would not permit him to ſtay for the Knights. He ſet ſail preciſely two days after he had wrote to the Grand Maſter, according to the purport of his Letter, the Prayers of the *Venetians*, the Honour of *France*, nor his own, being able to ſtop him.

The Grand Maſter had not been ſo well appeas'd at the departure of the *French*, had he not met the *Venetians* in ſight of the Iſland.

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After mutual Salutes of both Fleets, *Peſaro* came aboard the Grand Maſter, where after ſome deliberation upon the preſent ſtate of Affairs, they concluded together, to write to all the Princes of the *Croiſade*, to engage them to let their Fleets be ready againſt the Spring. They alſo agreed, that the true way to ruine the *Turk*, was not to make any attempts upon the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, the loſs of which would do him but little harm; but to force the *Dardanels*, and beſiege *Gallipoli* with a potent Army; then to make up directly to *Conſtantinople*, and fire the Fleet that uſually rode in the Sea of *Marmora*; which the Grand Maſter would undertake to do, provided that *Ladiſlaus* perform'd his part upon *Hungary* ſide. This being the condition of Affairs at that time, the Grand Maſter took his leave of *Peſaro*, and ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, three of the *Venetian* Galleys attending him out of reſpect. The *Rhodians*, who did not expect his Return ſo

ſoon, were pleaſingly ſurpriz'd at it; yet eaſily brookt the misfortune that reſtor'd them their Grand Maſter.

No ſooner was he arriv'd, but he had intelligence, that ſeveral *Turky* Merchants Ships, very richly laden, were in the Seas of *Syria* and *Egypt* homeward bound. The Council was of opinion, that ſuch a Booty was not to be let ſlip, but that they ſhould take this opportunity abſolutely to break with the Port. Thereupon the Grand Maſter commanded out ſeven Gallies, and ſome Boats, to way-lay them. The Knight *Diomede de Villaragut*, *Caſtellan* of *Empoſta*, was nam'd Admiral of the Squadron. He put to Sea, and took the Ships; ſo that the Prize almoſt recompenc'd the Expences which the Knights had been at.

But for all this ſmall ſucceſs, the Maſter was not a little troubled at the ſlowneſs of the Princes. He was ſenſibly afflicted to ſee the League half-broken; and therefore to renew it again, he ſent Ambaſſadors

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to all the Chriſtian Courts: Who were no ſooner departed, but Ambaſſadors arriv'd from *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*; who, after they had congratulated the Grand Maſter as General of the League, aſſur'd him, that the *Hungarian* Army was in readineſs; and therefore deſir'd him to engage the Grand *Caraman*, the Soldan of *Egypt*, but, above all, the King of *Perſia*, to take up Arms againſt the *Turk*. The Reſolutions of *Ladiſlaus* extremely rejoyc'd the Grand Maſter; but the Revolutions then hapning in *Perſia* ſomewhat qualifi'd his joy.

Jacup the Son of *Uſſum Caſſan*, ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdom of *Perſia*, was affraid leſt *Arduel*, his Couſin, ſhould one day uſurp the Crown; and his fear was upon good grounds. *Arduel* publickly gave out, that *Ali* was the true Interpreter of the Law; and thereby he almoſt overthrew *Mahumetiſm*. The People, who are always diſpos'd to receive Novelties, and

are eaſily govern'd by them that know how to tickle their fancies with Religion, declar'd themſelves for the Doctrine of *Arduel*. Thereupon *Jacup* thought the favour of the People to be a ſufficient crime for which to put him to death, and rid himſelf of him without any noiſe. And a little while after he gave the ſame order for *Iſhmael* the Son of *Arduel*. That order of the King of *Perſia* was not ſo ſecret, but *Iſhmael* had notice of it. Upon which, he fled towards the *Caſpian Sea*, to a Prince that was one of his Friends, and there immediately made a publick Profeſſion of what his Father had taught him. His comely Preſence and his Eloquence, ſoon begat him a high eſteem among thoſe Barbarous Nations, even to be regarded as a kind of Deity; for which reaſon they gave him the name of *Sophi*, or Wiſe. He dextrouſly kept up ſo fair a Repuration, and believing it lawful for him to do any thing to obtain a Crown, he got the King of *Perſia* to be put to death, by

by the very means of the Queen her ſelf, who hated her Husband, and lov'd *Iſhmael*. After the death of *Jacup*, *Iſhmael* return'd into *Perſia*, with a great number of his followers, who lookt upon him as a Prophet ſent by God: The moſt part of the *Perſians* took his part, ſo that having got together a good Army, he march'd againſt *Alvant*, who had tak'n poſſeſſion of the Throne, as being the eldeſt Son of *Jacup*. The new King was driv'n firſt from his City, then defeated in a great Battel, and ſlain by *Iſhmael*'s own hand. This fatal news quite dampt the courage of *Alvani*'s Brother, whoſe name was *Maracatam*, and lay at *Babylon* with a numerous Army. So that in ſtead of marching againſt *Iſhmael*, he fled to the Mountains, and abandon'd the Throne that belong'd to him to ſave his life. Thus the Uſurper became the Maſter; and though all the Kingdom had not yet ſubmitted to his Scepter, he caus'd himſelf to be call'd King of *Perſia*.

Theſe Revolutions appear'd no way favourable to the King of *Hungary*, nor to the intentions of the Grand Maſter. There was no probability that *Iſhmael Sophi* would engage in the Affairs of the League, while *Perſia* was not yet at Peace within it ſelf, and all thoſe accidents were ſtill to be fear'd that might ruine a new Dominion, unjuſt and unſetl'd; beſides, that the Succeſſes of *Iſhmael* naturally bred ſuſpitions in the King of *Caramania*'s breaſt. Which reaſons would not permit him to enterprize againſt the *Turks*, when he had enough to do to ſecure himſelf at home. Nor was the Soldan of *Egypt* in a better condition to favour the Princes of the *Croiſade*; for beſides that he was embroil'd in the Domeſtick Diſſentions of his own Court, he fear'd the victorious Arms of *Iſhmael*, who, by the advice giv'n him by *Attula Turcoman*, threaten'd to begin his Conqueſts with thoſe of *Syria* and *Egypt*, when he had ſetl'd himſelf in *Perſia*. Nevertheleſs,

leſs, when the Grand Maſter better conſider'd, he bethought himſelf, that the Troubles of *Perſia* would be no way diſadvantagious to the Enterprize of the Chriſtians; for that the *Turk* alarm'd with the Succeſs of his Victorious Neighbour and Enemy, would be oblig'd to keep very numerous Armies upon the Fronteers of *Turky*; and that being thereby much weaken'd, he might be the eaſier vanquiſh'd at home.

The noiſe of the League no leſs perplex'd *Bajazet*, then the Revolutions of *Perſia*. Underſtanding therefore that the Grand Maſter was the Head and Soul of the Enterprize, he bethought himſelf of dealing with him, by the means of *Sultan Corcut*, the beſt belov'd of all his Sons, to whom he had giv'n the Government of *Anatolia*. *Corcut* being well inſtructed by the Miniſters of the Port what part he was to act, ſent very rich Preſents to the Grand Maſter, with a moſt obliging Letter, wherein he requeſted his friend-

friendſhip; and conjur'd him, after a thouſand offers of his ſervices, that they might live together in Amity and good Correſpondence, and that there might be a freedom of Trade between each others Subjects. He added, that his Father had given him all power, in reference to a peace, and that he was ready to do what ever the Knights deſir'd. But theſe fair words could not dazle the Grand Maſter. He knew by the *Turks* themſelves, who were his Spies, that the famous Pirate *Camili*, who had fitted out ſeveral Veſſels at *Gallipoli* for the ſervice of *Bajazet*, was juſt ready to ſet Sail out of the Straits with above fifty men of War, to attack the Iſles that belong'd to the *Order*. So that without entring into any further Negotiation, he frankly declar'd, That being nominated General of the League by the Pope, he could not forſake the Common Cauſe, nor could hearken to any Peace which the Grand Seignior would not make with all the Princes of Chriſtendom,

as

as well as with the Knights of *Rhodes*.

The Grand Maſter declar'd himſelf upon this point ſo much the more boldly, becauſe he knew, that ſeven of the Popes Galleys were joyn'd to the *Venetian* Armado at the Iſland of *Cerigo*, and that his Holineſs was ſetting out thirteen more, the care of which he had given to the Knight *Fabricio de Caretta*, who was then at *Genoa*. This news was brought to *Rhodes* by an Envoy of the Biſhop of *Baſſo*, under whoſe Conduct the Galleys ſet Sail, and who had alſo in Charge a Brief from the Pope to be deliver'd to the Grand Maſter. This Brief contain'd many Applauſes of the Grand Maſters Actions, and many Excuſes of the Popes Neglect: That he had the moſt ſincere intentions in the world, but that the misfortunes of the times would not ſuffer him to keep his word; that he would repair what was paſt with advantage, and ſend Twenty Galleys inſtead of Fifteen.

But

But to return to the *Sophi*. He had no ſooner eſtabliſh'd his Throne, partly by fair, partly by foul means, but he reſolv'd to extend his Conqueſts. Inſtead of advancing againſt *Egypt*, as he intended, he fell into *Armenia* with fourſcore thouſand fighting men, drawn thither by the Neighbourhood, and the hatred which he bore the *Turks*. In this Expedition, *Iſhmael* ſoon maſtered *Armenia*, after he had cut in pieces above twenty thouſand men. *Bajazet* alarm'd by the Succeſs of the Conqueror, gather'd all his Forces together to defend himſelf; but he could not believe himſelf able to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy, while he was at odds with the Chriſtians. For that reaſon he made Propoſitions of Peace to the Grand Maſter and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Grand Maſter, who had intelligence of every thing, and in particular knew the Conſternation of the Grand Signior, fail'd not to give notice of it to the Pope, that never a fairer opportunity offer'd it ſelf to ruine

ruine the Common Enemy: That *Bajazet* was oblig'd to go in Perſon againſt the *Perſian*, for want of a Baſha experienc'd in Military Affairs, in whom he could abſolutely confide: That the *Sophi*, a liberal and affable Prince, drew to his Party the Militia of the Grand Signior: That there was no likelihood of any accord between *Perſia* and *Turky*, in regard a Conqueror hates nothing more then Peace. Therefore he beſought his Holineſs not to neglect the opportunity that Providence preſented. But the Commotions in *Italy* render'd all theſe Remonſtrances void. For while the *Turks* and *Perſians* make War one againſt another, the *French* and *Spaniards* break the Peace which they had made. They had contracted an Alliance againſt *Frederick* of *Naples*, who ſucceeded *Ferdinand* his Nephew, and had got poſſeſſion of his Dominions by force of Arms. But Ambition ſoon divided them, which it had united. *Lewis* the XII. and *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile*,

Caſtile, became jealous each of other; neither could endure a Competitor nor a Companion, both of them claim the whole Kingdom which they had parted betwixt them. And the differences of their Miniſters, touching the limits of their common Conqueſts ſerving for a pretence, occaſion'd a moſt bloody War, that fill'd all *Italy* with horrour and confuſion.

The Biſhop of *Baſſo*, who had joyn'd himſelf with the Fleet of the *Venetians*, had intelligence of the Rupture between the two Crowns, at what time the Naval Army of the *Venetians* had taken the Iſland of *Santa Maura* from the *Turk*, with the aſſiſtance of a Squadron of Knights which the Grand Maſter ſent them, and ſome Galleys of a *French* Captain, call'd *Pre' Jan de Bidoux*, a very underſtanding Seaman, and a very ſtout Souldier. Preſently the Biſhop gave a ſhrewd gueſs at the ill ſucceſs of the League by the ſtate of affairs in *Italy*, and, according to his Inſtructions, he gave

gave notice to the Grand Maſter, That new diviſions hinder'd his Holineſs from being exact to his word. He added, That of Twenty Galleys promis'd by the Holy See, he had receiv'd but Thirteen; That he could not keep them above four months, without expreſs command from the Pope; which were almoſt expir'd, and moſt certainly would not be prolong'd; That the *French* Fleet would not come at all; That Captain *Pré Jan de Bidoux* was gone from St. *Maura* upon the firſt intelligence of the Broils between *France* and *Spain*; That the *Venetians* being reſolv'd to fortifie St. *Maura*, could not ſpare their Fleet any farther; ſo that Winter being at hand, he did not believe that the Confederate Princes would undertake any thing againſt the *Turk* this year.

However, the eager longing which the Grand Maſter had to ſee the League renew'd, and his joy for the taking *Santa Maura*, made him believe, that the flames of War be-

between the *French* and *Spaniards* might be as eaſily extinguiſh'd as they were kindled; upon this conſideration he reſolv'd not to give off ſo. So that without taking any notice of the Biſhop of *Biſſo*'s advice, he fell again to writing to the Pope. After he had congratulated the Pope for the Succeſs of his Galleys in the taking *Santa Manra*, he beſought him to keep them ſtill in readineſs, and to excite the *Venetians* to prepare the moſt powerful Armado they could. He beſought him to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, and to make uſe of all his Art in that particular. He preſs'd with new vehemency the Emperour, and other Kings, particularly the King of *England*, who was very powerful at Sea, and who was very zealous for the Intereſts of the Church. After which, committing the reſt into the hands of Providence, he ſet himſelf to regulate the Cuſtoms both of the People, and the Knights.

In the firſt place, underſtanding, that

that the *Jews* that dwelt in *Rhodes*, led a very ſcandalous life, and that their bad example was the occaſion of many ſins committed in the City, he took up a reſolution to expel them. Having aſſembl'd a Council for this effect, he ſet forth, in a long diſcourſe, all the evil that the Trade of the *Jews* might produce among the Faithful; and that an Order particularly conſecrated to the defence of Chriſtendom, ought to abhor a Nation which was ſo much the Enemy of Chriſt himſelf. Then he came in particular to the *Jews* of *Rhodes*, whom the Prodigies of the laſt Siege, and thoſe upon the Wall, had harden'd the more.

The Grand Maſter's judgment was approv'd in Council, and they all decreed with one accord, that the *Jews* ſhould depart the Iſland, and all the Territories of the Order, within fifty days. They were alſo forbid to ſettle in the Eaſt, leſt they ſhould prove ſpies to the *Turks*: and all that was permitted them, was, to put off their Goods

in fourty days. But all ſorts of Liberty and priviledges were offer'd, on the other ſide, to thoſe that would turn Chriſtians. As for their little Children, it was decreed, that they ſhould be Baptiz'd whether their Parents would or no. And the Decree of Council was drawn in expreſs terms, That ſince it was the opinion of all Divines and Canoniſts, that the *Jews* were the Slaves of the Chriſtian Princes, they had not the Right nor Juriſdiction of Parents over their Children. So that the Grand Maſter might diſpoſe of them for the good of Chriſtendom, and the Salvation of their Souls. Thereupon according to the power of the Laws, the *Jews* Children were Baptiz'd. And leſt they ſhould renounce their Chriſtianity when they came to years of diſcretion, the Grand Maſter kept them at *Rhodes*, and brought them up at the publick Charge, in ſome meaſure doing the Duty and Office of a Father to them.

After this, the Grand Maſter appli'd

pli'd himſelf to examine the Statutes of the Order, which the Vice-Chancellor *Caourſin* had reduc'd into a Method ſome years before. Some he cancell'd that were grow nout of uſe, the obſervation whereof did more harm then good, ſerving onely to multiply Quarrels and Suits of Law. Others he made new, according to the Conſtitution of the preſent Time. For ſeeing how far the Impiety and Luxury of the Knights had extended it ſelf, who liv'd more like Seculars and Libertines, then men in Holy Orders, he ordain'd, That whoſoe'er ſhould ſwear by, or blaſpheme the Name of God, or ſpeak a word to the diſhonour of the Virgin *Mary*, or the Saints, for the firſt fault ſhould undergo the puniſhment of * *Lent*; for the ſecond, two months impriſonment in the Caſtle; and for the third, be put in the publick Priſon during the pleaſure of the Grand Maſter and the Council;

* *Faſt fourty days, and be whipt twice a week before the High Altar.*

and that they that were put into theſe Priſons, ſhould loſe three years priviledge of Precedency.

He alſo forbade, that the Knights ſhould habit themſelves like other people of the world, or wear any thing that had the leaſt ſemblance of Gallantry or Vanity. He order'd particularly, that their habits ſhould be plain, and of one colour; and that if any Knight diſobey'd this Order, beſides the puniſhment of the Quarantine, his Habit ſhould be confiſcate to the Publick Treaſury.

But though he lov'd Modeſty in Habit, he was Magnificent in all things that concern'd the Ornament and Beautifying of the Church; as, the ſtately Tapeſtries, Statues of Silver, Croſſes of Gold, Chalices, and Image-Chariots of *Malta*, engraven with his Arms for the moſt part, teſtifie to this day.

While he employ'd himſelf in this manner, in expectation of his Embaſſie & Letters in reference to the League, the *Spaniards*, who had for their Captain

Captain in the Kingdom of *Naples* *Alexander Cordova*, ſir-nam'd the Great Captain, made moſt cruel War againſt the *French*; and both Parties grew ſo violent one againſt another, that there was no likelihood of Peace. The Pope, inſtead of labouring an accommodation and reconcilement between the two Nations, as the Grand Maſter had deſir'd him, openly favour'd the *Spaniards*, and fed the fire which he ought to have extinguiſh'd. Beſides, he had no other thoughts in his head, but how to Aggrandize *Ceſar Borgia* his Son, Duke of *Valentinois*, whom he paſſionately lov'd ſo far, as to dare any thing, and think any thing lawful for his advancement and enrichment. But that which directly ruin'd the *Croiſade*, was this, That the *Venetians*, tir'd with the War, made Peace with the *Turks*, after ſeveral private Negotiations, wherein the Knights of *Rhodes* were not taken notice of in the leaſt. By this Peace, the *Venetians* reſtord the Iſland of *Santa*

Maura, which *Peſara* had fortifi'd at great Expences; and the Grand Signior engag'd himſelf to reſtore what he had taken from the *Venetian* Merchants, from the beginning of the War. *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* ſoon follow'd the example of the Republick, making an agreement, though not very Honourable, with *Bajazet*. Theſe ſad tidings pierc'd the very heart of the Grand Maſter; and to add to his affliction, he underſtood at the ſame time, that his Holineſs had conferr'd Commanderies of the Order upon Secular Perſons, and that he had promis'd the Priorie of *Caſtile* to *Don Henry* of *Toledo*. Conſidering neither the Priviledges of *Innocent* the VIII. the Nature of the Revenues of the Order, nor the Dignity of the Generaliſſimo of the *League*, whom he had elected himſelf.

The Grand Maſter ſo highly reſented ſuch irregular proceedings, that he wrote to the Pope; and without ſwerving from that reſpect which he ow'd to the *Chief* of the Church,

Church, and the Vicar of Chriſt, he told *Alexander* his own, as far as a real Zeal could inſpire him. But *Alexander* taking little notice of his Complaints, continu'd his affronts and injuries to the Order, and that with ſo much the more Liberty, believing, that now the *Venetians* had made Peace with the *Turks*, he ſhould have no more need of the Knights.

The League thus brok'n off, and the proceedings of the Pope, brought the Grand Maſter into a deep Melancholy, that waſted him by degrees, and at length caſt him into a mortal diſtemper. He began to fall ill the Eeve of St. *John Baptiſts* day. But then he would not diſcloſe that he ail'd any thing, and was preſent at the Bonfires, and at the publick Annual Ceremonies before the Caſtle, for which there are extraordinary preparations in Hònour of the Patron of the Order. He alſo went in ſtate to Church upon the Feſtival day; and concealing his ill diſpoſition of body, perform'd all

the Duties of a true Chriſtian.

This ſtriving againſt his Diſtemper out of Piety, re-doubl'd the force of the diſeaſe; ſo that in two days he fell ſo ill, that the Phyſicians at firſt deſpair'd of his life: nevertheleſs they were willing to try what Art could do. But the Grand Maſter, who perceiv'd himſelf near his end, ſlighted his own preſervation, and told them with a ſmile, That never having taken Phyſick, it was dangerous for him to begin at his years. However, he ſubmitted to the intreaties of his Nephew, and the reaſons of the Phyſicians, notwithſtanding his own natural reluctancy.

The Grand Maſters ſickneſs, put all the City into a Conſternation. The Inhabitants, like people in deſpair, ran to the Caſtle, and from the Caſtle to the Churches, to implore of God the life of their Prince. The whole City was fill'd with Vows, Prayers, and Proceſſions. But his ſickneſs encreaſing more and more, he receiv'd the Sacrament of the

the Church with a lively Faith, and an ardent Devotion, which both edifi'd and pierc'd the hearts of all that ſtood by. After that, he call'd all the Knights of the Council, and recollecting all the ſtrength he had left; *My dear Brethren*, ſaid he, *I have no more then one ſhort moment to live; therefore before I leave you, take it not amiſs that I exhort you, to chooſe a Perſon more worthy then my ſelf to ſucceed in my Place; and that I conjure ye alſo to expend all your Honour in a generous defence of the Faith, and in the obſervation of the Rules of the Order. This is the favour that I beg of you as a dying man.* Hardly had he ſtrength enough to pronounce the laſt words; nor did he utter above two or three words more, to comfort the Knights, that ſhed tears round about his bed. At length he gave them his Benediction as his Children; and then lying quietly for ſome time, with his eyes ſometimes lifted up to Heaven, ſometimes fix'd upon the Crucifix,

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Crucifix, he ſeem'd to be in a kind of diſcourſe with God, till he ſweetly and mildly yielded up his
Anno laſt breath. At the very mo-
1503. ment of his expiration, the Knights made ſo loud a noiſe of lamentation, as eas'ly made known his death to the People, aſſembl'd in the Palace. Then was their ſorrow ſoon expreſs'd by their tears and wailings, and after that by a deep ſilence, as uſually happens in extreme afflictions.

Thus di'd *Peter D' Aubuſſon*, Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*, Cardinal of St. *Adrian*, Legate of the Holy See in *Aſia*, and nominated Generaliſſimo of the Holy League. He was aged about fourſcore years, and he had govern'd the Order above twenty ſeven.

So ſoon as grief would permit the Knights to come to themſelves, they made it their bus'neſs to render to the dead their laſt duties with all the Magnificence imaginable. He was expos'd upon a Noble Bed of State. Nor did the Ghaſtlineſs of

of death deprive him of that ſweet and amiable Majeſty, that always appear'd in his countenance when alive. Three Knights ſtood at the Beds head in Mourning, one holding the Cardinals Cap, another the Legats Croſs, and the third the Standard of Generaliſſimo. Four other Knights held each of them a Banner, whereon were embroider'd the Arms of the *Order*, and thoſe of *D' Aubuſſon*. On each ſide of him ſtood two Altars, dreſs'd up with Canopies over each; on the one was laid the *Dalmatick Gown*, the *Mitre*, and all the Ornaments proper for a Cardinal Deacon. On the other lay the Caſque, Corſlet, Half-Pike and Sword, which the Grand Maſter made uſe of upon the day of the Grand Aſſault; together with his Cloathes, all ſtain'd with his own and the bloud of the Barbarians. Two hundred Knights attended beſides, all in deep mourning. The People that crowded to this fatal Spectacle, could not forbear

bear weeping bitterly; they cri'd out, They had loſt their Father; and then kiſs'd his hands to eaſe their grief, and took their laſt leaves.

His Obſequies were perform'd the next day following, which the publick Grief contributed to render more ſolemn, then all the Funeral Pomp. He was carri'd to the Church upon the ſhoulders of the principal *Grand-Croſſes*, and Interr'd in the Chappel he himſelf had built.

The firſt General Chapter that was held at *Rhodes* under *Emery D'Amboiſe*, his Succeſſor, decreed, That in Honour of the Memory of the Grand Maſter *D'Aubuſſon*, the Order ſhould, at the Expence of the Publick Treaſury, erect him a Magnificent Tomb in Braſs; and that an Epitaph ſhould be Engrav'd upon it, reciting the moſt Illuſtrious Actions of his Life. The Hiſtorians of the Order of St. *John* do not mention this Epigram, and with all the diligence I have us'd, I could never hear

hear any thing more of it. However, the Encomiums which Popes, Princes, and Hiſtorians have given the famous *Peter D'Aubuſſon*, may well ſupply the place of that Epitaph. *Sixtus* the IV. and *Innocent* the VIII. affirm in their Briefs, that the Holy See was infinitely oblig'd to him, and that they could not ſufficiently acknowledge the Services he had done the Faithful, in putting a ſtop, by his cares, and with the price of his own blood, to the Conqueſts of *Mahomet* the Second, the moſt Formidable Enemy of Chriſtendom. *Alexander* the Sixth confeſs'd, That there was in the Grand Maſter a Sincere Faith, an Heroick Valour, an Exquiſite Prudence, and a moſt perfect Experience in all things that concern'd the War againſt the *Turks*. The Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, and *Matthias Corvin* King of *Hungary*, often call'd him in their Letters, The Tamer of the *Ottomans*, and the Support of the Church.

Church. *Caourſin* calls him, The Father of his Countrey, the Protector of the Unfortunate, and the Invincible Defender of *Rhodes*. *Victorellus*, in his Additions to *C. Ciaconius*, ſays, That all was great in him, his Wit, his Courage, and his Piety: That being inveſted with the Sacred Purple, he was never the more remiſs in Military Duties; and that he had perform'd at one time Actions worthy of a Holy Cardinal, and a Generous Souldier. The ſame Author adds, That the Magnanimous *D' Aubuſſon*, in all the Conduct of his Life, had no other aim, then onely the Glory of God, and Honour of his Order; That he govern'd his Subjects with as much Lenity as Juſtice; and that his Paternal Goodneſs was principally eminent towards the Poor. The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory ſpeaks of him as of a moſt admirable Perſon, and one that merited all manner of Applauſe. In ſhort, the Hiſtory of the

Knights

Knights of St. *John* extolls him above all the Grand Maſters, equals him to the Hero's of Antient times, and propounds him as a Model to all the Princes of Chriſtendom.

A

CONTINUATION

Of the

HISTORY

OF

Rhodes,

Under the Government of *Philip de Villiers Liſle Adam*,

Containing the Siege of Solyman *the Magnificent, no leſs famous than that* Mahomet *the* II.

UPon the death of *Peter D' Aubuſſon*, *Emery D' Amboiſe*, Prior of *France*, then abſent, was choſen in his place; in whoſe time, though *Bajazet* ſwore to beſiege *Rhodes* with

a puiſſant Army, yet he attempted nothing. He was a Prince, vertuous, valiant, charitable, and ſucceſsful in his Enterpizes; ſo that under his Government the Knights perform'd ſeveral notable Exploits to the honour of the Order, and won among the reſt that famous Victory at Sea from the Soldan of *Egypt*, ſignaliz'd by the death of the Soldan's Nephew who commanded the Fleet. To *Emery D' Amboſſe* ſucceeded, by a fair Election, *Guy de Blanchefort Prior of Auvergne*. In his time *Sultan Selim* having caus'd his Father *Bajazet* to be ſtrangl'd, and put to death *Achmat* and *Corcutt*, his two Brothers, with their Wives and Children, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Empire; wherein he was no ſooner ſettl'd, but he deſign'd to lay ſiege to *Rhodes*. The Report whereof alarum'd the Grand Maſter to make preparations for his defence; wherein he proceeded as far as could be expected, conſidering the ſhort time of his Government; for in leſs then a year he dy'd, and left his place to be ſupply'd by the *Admiral de Carretto*,

who

who the firſt thing he did, made a League with *Iſhmael Sophi* the King of *Perſia* againſt *Selim*. For underſtanding that the *Turk* ſtill continu'd his vaſt preparations for War, he thought it was but a piece of common Providence to provide for himſelf. But the Storm fell upon the Soldan of *Egypt*, who being overthrown in Battel, loſt all *Syria*, together with his life, in the firſt place; and ſoon after his Succeſſor, having twice unfortunately fought *Selim* himſelf, and being by him at length taken and hang'd upon one of the Gates of *Caire*, loſt all *Egypt*, of which *Selim* made himſelf abſolute Maſter. But whether *Selim* intended any miſchief againſt *Rhodes* or no, his death haſten'd the fate of *Rhodes*; for upon that the Empire fell to his Son *Solymon* the Magnificent, the ſhock of whoſe fury and puiſſance, upon the death of the *Admiral Caretta*, *Philip de Villiers* *Liſle Adam* *Prior* of *France*, was choſen to withſtand; being elected Grand Maſter the 22d. of *January*, 1521. whoſe deportment in ſo Grand a

Siege would he too unkindly left out, where D' *Aubuſſon*'s Fame is ſo honourably expanded; it being certain that never two Courages were better mated in ſtory. Never was a City more valiantly defended, nor more valiantly loſt. And it is a queſtion undetermin'd whether of the two got moſt, *Amurach* by riſing from it, or *Solyman* by taking it; while the one prudently ſav'd, the other became a meer prodigal of blood. *Philip de Villiers* was abſent at the time of his being elected, and therefore *Gabriel de Pomerols* was choſen his Lieutenant till his arrival. Which dignity while he executed, he thought fit to ſend to the Pope a Model of the City of *Rhodes*, that he might ſee how it was fortifi'd. But that which might have prov'd of higher concern, was the arrival of another Embaſſador from the *Grand Sophi*, to continue that private correſpondence which was begun with *Carretta*. Unluckily he finds *Carretta* dead; ſo that his Commiſſion being at an end, he went to viſit *Amurath* the Son of *Sultan Zelim*, in the behalf

behalf of the *Sophi*. That young Prince was entertain'd by the Order at their own Expences in the Caſtle of *Ferracla*, whither the Knights ſent ſeveral Preſents to the young Sultan, that he might be able to gratifie the Embaſſador, who ſoon after return'd home to his own Prince, not ſo much as mentioning any thing of the buſineſs for which he was ſent.

The Grand Maſter being in *France* at the time of his Election, made all the haſte he could to his charge, departing from *Marſeilles* in the Carrack of *Rhodes*, together with four other hir'd Veſſels. But his Voyage ſeem'd to be ſomewhat inauſpicious. For one of the Veſſels was ſplit by the way; and the great Carrack it ſelf had like to have been burnt; being all on fire through the careleſneſs of the Cook, but was happily quench'd again through the induſtry and authority of the Grand Maſter. More then this, having paſt by *Nice* and *Corſica*, a flaſh of lightning ſhot it ſelf into the main Cabin of the Carrack, and melted his Sword without hurting the

Scabbard. Which little accidents were by ſome interpreted as ill omens of the ſucceſs of the Siege of the R*hodes*, that ſoon after happen'd. *Cortogoli* alſo, the Grand *Turkiſh* Pirate laid way to intercept the Grand Maſter, with a great number of Gallys and Galeots, partly out of hopes of booty, partly to revenge the death of his Brothers which the Knights of R*hodes* had ſlain, and to ſet the third at liberty, being then a ſlave in R*hodes*. However the Grand Maſter, contrary to the advice and entreaties of the Knights and great Perſonages that attended him, with full ſails made the Cape of St. *Angelo*, and in the night time paſs'd the place where the *Turks* lay in wait for him, and arriv'd ſafe in R*hodes*. *Cortogoli*, mad that he had ſo miſs'd his prey, ſome time after enters into the Channel of R*hodes*, hoping by his unlookt for coming to find ſome opportunity to do miſchief. But being diſcover'd, the Grand Maſter ſent forth the R*hodian* Fleet againſt him, the ſight whereof not only put him

Sept. 11. 1421.

him to flight, but made him forſake a Veſſel of *Candia* which he had almoſt taken.

While things were thus tranſacted at *Rhodes*, *Solyman* being come to the Empire, contrary to the Opinion of all men, that he would be a peaceable Prince; ſoon after diſplaying the inordinate Ambition of his Predeceſſors, with a vaſt power of men beſieg'd *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, and took it. This Victory ſwell'd him up; ſo that burning with a deſire to conquer *Rhodes*, yet willing to conceal his deſign, that he might the better make his preparations, he ſent an Embaſſador to the Grand Maſter, to whom he deliver'd a Letter, written in the Greek Language, wherein he magnifi'd the Grandeur of his Empire, and his Victories, highly extoll'd the Vertues of the Grand Maſter, and offer'd him peace and friendſhip. The Grand Maſter, and thoſe of the Council immediately underſtood the craft and fallacy of *Solyman*, and that being young and full of Ambition, his courage and deliberations tended to other

deſigns then the Tenor of his Letter imply'd. And therefore there was an Anſwer return'd him in the name of the Grand Maſter; by which he plainly underſtood that he was diſcover'd; that the *Rhodians* neither fear'd nor truſted him; ſo that he was likely to find it afar more difficult task to conquer them, then he had found at *Belgrade*. Therefore he enter'd into ſeveral conſultations about this Enterprize, concerning which the moſt part of his Council laid before him the difficulties he would meet with, and diſſwaded him from hazarding either his Forces or his Reputation upon an attempt ſo unlikely to ſucceed. And indeed *Muſtapha Baſha*, and *Curtogoli* were the only perſons that fix'd him in his Reſolution. Among other things they repreſented to him that there was no other means for him peaceably to enjoy the Provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria*; for that the ſhorteſt and only way for him to receive intelligence from thence, and to ſend thither, was cut off by the Knights of *Rhodes*, who ſpread themſelves upon thoſe Seas, and

and intercepted all his Veſſels. For which reaſon he was conſtrain'd to keep a Fleet alwaies out at Sea: Beſides, that as long as thoſe of the Order kept footing in *Rhodes*, they would be continually animating and inciting the Chriſtian Princes to make War upon him, and to league themſelves together for the Recovery of the holy Land. He had found among the private Memoirs of *Selim* his Father, that the onely way for him to ſecure his own affairs, was to make himſelf Maſter of *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*; by the ſcituation whereof the Chriſtians had alwaies an opportunity to bring the War into the midſt of his Territories. He was alſo importun'd and preſs'd thereto by the complaints of the Inhabitants of *Metelin*, *Negropont*, *Caramania*, the *Morea*, and his new Subjects of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who were perpetually alarum'd, pillag'd, and plunder'd by thoſe of the *Order*. He was alſo the more incited thereto by the opportunity which preſented it ſelf by reaſon of the Diviſions and Wars between *Charles* the fifth and the

the King of *France*, from whom all the main Succour muſt come, which the Knights could expect: and more then all this, by the daily intelligence which he had receiv'd from a Jewiſh Phyſician, whom *Selim* had ſent to live in *Rhodes* for a Spy. This Phyſician expert in his Art, had perform'd many excellent Cures, and by his officiouſneſs and diligence toward all people had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the acquaintance and favour of the Principal Knights of the Order, that he eaſily div'd into their ſecrets, and ſent his Advices to a Greek of *Scio*, who convey'd them to *Conſtantinople*. Among other things he advertiz'd *Solyman*, that there was a great part of the Wall thrown down near the Bulwark of *Auvergne* to be rebuilt according to the Deſign and Directions of the Engineers, ſo that the City might be eaſily ſurpriz'd, if his Fleet came in time to attacque it in that place. But the beſt Intelligence that *Solyman* receiv'd was giv'n him by *Andrew D' Amarall*, Prior of *Caſtile*, and afterward Chancellor of the *Order*,

Order, who bare in his mind a mortal hatred and enmity againſt the Grand Maſter, ever ſince the difference that happen'd between them ever ſince the Battel of *Layaſſo*; and againſt the Order it ſelf, for that notwithſtanding all his underhand dealing for the Honour, they had elected with an unanimous conſent, the Grand Maſter, both for his merit and his vertues. This venom of Ambition, Malice and Revenge ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd him, and gain'd ſo far upon him, as to make him reſolve upon this hideous Act of Treaſon. The day of the Election he was heard to ſay, that this would be the laſt Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*: And ſome daies before the Siege, he wiſh'd his ſoul in the hands of the Devil, ſo that *Rhodes* and the Order might be ruin'd. He had in his ſervice a Turkiſh ſlave, of a quick and ready apprehenſion, to whom he pretended to have giv'n his Liberty, as being ranſom'd. This ſlave he ſent to *Conſtantinople* with a particular and exact diſcovery of the State of the City, of the Proviſions and Ammunition

tion therein, and what Corn was wanting; perſwading the Great Turk to ſend his Fleet with all ſpeed, promiſing him a certain Victory, and to give him all the Intelligence that ſhould be requiſite.

Solyman found this to be ſound Intelligence, knowing that *Amaral* was one of the Principal Knights, and being of their Council, knew whatever was decreed or voted for the defence of the City; and ſent back the ſlave laden with gifts, and promiſes of future rewards. *Amaral* entertain'd him, pretending he had brought his Ranſom. This Action caus'd in many an extream diſlike, and a general ſuſpition of him, but by reaſon of his Dignity and Authority, there were none that durſt to ſpeak their minds freely.

In the mean time *Leo* deceas'd, after he had govern'd the Papacy eight years; and *Solyman* made all his preparations as privately as poſſibly he cou'd, giving it out that he intended either for *Apulia* or *Cyprus*. Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter was adver-

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tiz'd of every thing by his Spies; and being aſſur'd that he ſhould be beſieg'd, ſate in Council every day; and as often did *Amarall* labour to ſuppreſs the report of the Siege, as much as in him lay, to divert and hinder the Order from making thoſe Proviſions which were neceſſary for their defence; inſtancing how often ſuch Rumours had been in vain, and how needleſs it was for the Order to put themſelves to unneceſſary charges at a time when their Exchequer ran low. However the Grand Maſter receiv'd more certain and pregnant Intelligence by a Raguſian, a perſon of underſtanding, and one that had the Turkiſh Language at command, whom he had ſent to *Conſtantinople* for a Spy, that the Grand Signior was ſetting forth a vaſt number of Ships, and preparing all ſorts of Engines of War, and Guns of an extraordinary bigneſs; and that there was a ſtop upon all perſons going to *Rhodes* without the leave of the Governours. Thereupon the Grand Maſter making no farther doubt of the Truth, put all hands to the fortifications

fications, giving the charge thereof to the Knights, *Anthony Brito*, a *Portogueſe*, and *Francis Nueres* of the Priory of *Aquitaine*. He alſo made proviſion of Ovens and Mills, and Lodgings for the Country people that ſhould retire into the City. While theſe things were in hand, he ſent to Pope *Adrian*, of whom he earneſtly requeſted ſuccour againſt the Turks; as alſo to the Emperour and the King of *France*, but in vain, becauſe they were then in open War one againſt the other.

As for the Pope, he rather prejudic'd, then aſſiſted them. For the *Italian* Knights being inform'd that he conferr'd every day Commanderies in *Italy* to their detriment, complain'd to the Council of *Rhodes*, and deſir'd leave that they might go altogether to *Rome*, to make their complaints to his Holineſs; which Liberty, conſidering the State of Affairs, was at that time deny'd them. Thus was the Pope the Occaſion of an unſeaſonable diſorder. For upon this the *Italians* openly complain'd of the Grand Maſter,

ſter, while the Chancellor *Amarall* ſecretly blew the bellows of diſſention, and carry'd it ſo far, as to deny their ſervice to the Order, and to obey the Commands of the Grand Maſter. Thereupon the Grand Maſter depriv'd of their habit three of the Principal Ring-leaders, *Gabriel Solier*, *James Palavicino*, and *Lewis Moroſo*. And to juſtifie himſelf, he referr'd the whole to the conſideration and examin tion of the Council, who made their report, that the Grand Maſter had done nothing but what was juſt, prudent and rational. However ſome of the Knights fearing the miſchief of Commotion and Alteration at ſuch a conjuncture, made it their buſineſs to pacifie the *Italians*, laying before them, that the world would think and could not judge otherwiſe, but that they ſought for a pretence to go to *Rome*, not ſo much for the ſake of their Commanderies, as to eſcape the danger of the approaching Siege. Whereby the perſwaders wrought ſo far, that the Mutineers laid aſide their anger, made their excuſes and return'd

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to the Obedience of the Grand Master, who as kindly embrac'd and pardon'd them.

This bustle being over, there arriv'd at *Rhodes* an Agent from *Peri Basha*, who deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master, wherein the *Basha* invited him to a Treaty of Peace with the Grand Signior, assuring him that if he sought it, he should be well receiv'd; and advising him withall to send for that purpose persons of Quality to the Port. The Embassador also deliver'd other Letters from the Grand Signior himself, much to the same effect. Most part of the Council, considering the Age of *Peri*, who was ancient, and his known prudence and moderation, had a good opinion of the Truth of the Embassie, insomuch that they resolv'd to send to *Constantinople* the Chevalier *Marquet Cataline*, and with him a *Rhodian* named *Castrophylaca*, a person of great judgment, and well skill'd in the Turkish Language, to conclude a Peace in the same manner as it had been concluded in the time of *D' Aubusson.*

buſſon. But when they were conſulting about their Inſtructions, ſome better conſidering of the buſineſs, began to be of opinion; that *Peri* was only a diſſembler, and obſerv'd that *Solymans* Letter gave no credence to that of *Peri*, and that it was not practicable to ſend an Embaſſadour without a ſafe conduct in ample manner from the Grand Signiour. While they were in theſe doubts, the Grand Maſter was advertiz'd that *Peri's* Embaſſadour wandred about the City, and with a diligent eye obſerv'd the Fortifications, and made enquiries after the Quantity of Proviſions, the number of Souldiers, aud what relief was expected. This open'd the eyes of the Council and gave them to underſtand that they were abus'd, and that the Embaſſadour was only come as a ſpie. Thereupon they preſently ſent him away; ordering a Greek of mean Quality to go along with him, to whom they gave two Letters, one to *Solyman*, the other to the *Baſha*, where in a few words the Grand Maſter declar'd that he had intelligence of

every thing, and that he had neither any thought or fear of the Grand Signiour, or of his forces. Nevertheleſs he deſir'd a ſafe conduct for an Embaſſadour, and offer'd to reſtrain the Incurſions of thoſe of the Order. The Embaſſadour being arriv'd at *Port Fiſco*, found Horſes there ready for him, and went Poſt to *Conſtantinople*, leaving the Greek behind; who being unwilling to travel alone through an Enemies Country ſo far a journey, return'd to *Rhodes* in the ſame Veſſel that carry'd him. By which miſcarriage every one was then aſcertain'd that the Embaſſie was but only a deceit, and that the Town would ſuddainly be beſiedg'd.

The City was well provided of Fleſh, pulſe, and wheat, of which there was enough all the time of the ſiege; & as for warlike munitions it was thought there had bin enough, though the Siege had laſted a whole year. But they found it otherwiſe, for they ſpent a great quantity to hinder the approaches of the Enemies Trenches: beſides the continual waſt of powder and ſhot

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day & night againſt ſo many thouſands of buſy Enemies. Thereupon the Chevalier *Antonie Boſio*, a perſon of a quick Capacity, and one who did many ſervices for the Order, while he liv'd, was ſent into *Candy* for wine, and to make a Levy of Archers; but the *Candiots*, afraid of the *Turk*, forbid him to raiſe any men; However under pretence of a convoy for his freight, he brought away four hundred Archers, which did eminent ſervice all the time of the Siege. The ſame *Boſio* met alſo upon the Sea with a *Venetian*, whoſe name was *Anthony Bonaldi*, coming from *Alexandria* in a great Veſſel laden with Wine and bound for *Conſtantinople*. But *Boſio* perſwaded him to alter his Courſe, and bring his Cargo to *Rhodes*; where after he had ſold his Wine, he put himſelf and his men into the ſervice of the Order, and behav'd himſelf during the ſiege, like a perſon of great valor. And now intelligence came from all parts, eſpecially from the Duke of *Nixia*, that the Galleys were lanching, and that the whole fleet would depart at the Latter end of *May*.

Thereupon the Grand Maſter caus'd a General Muſter to be made as well of the Knights, as of the other Souldiers. As to thoſe of the Habit, there appear'd one and fifty of the Language of *Province*; 26 of that of *Auvergne*; Sixty two of *France*; Forty ſeven of *Italy*; Fifty one of *Arragon*, *Catalogne* and *Navar*; Eleven of *England*; Six of *Germany*; Fifty ſeven of *Caſtile*; beſides 13 others more that kept guard in the Caſtle of St. *Nicholas*. The whole Garriſon conſiſted of about 5000 men. After the muſter was thus made, the Grand Maſter appointed to every Commander his particular duty, what Poſts, what Baſtions to keep or relieve as neceſſity requir'd; and what Knights to be continually about his own perſon. Particularly *William Watſon* commanded the Engliſh Poſt. *Nicholas Huſſey* the Engliſh *Baſtion*; and *Thomas Sheffeild* was Captain of St. *Anthonies* Gate.

The City was in this poſture, when there was a ſignal made by fire from *Fiſco*, that there were ſome perſons there which deſir'd to parley. Thereupon

upon the Grand Maſter ſent the Knigh *Boniface* D'*Alluys* a *Provençal* thither with his Gally. When he came neer the place where the fire was, certain horſemen that ſtood upon the ſhore gave the Knight to underſtand that they had a Letter to deliver from the Grand Signiour; and invited him a ſhoar: But the Knight too well underſtanding the humour of the *Turks*, told them he had but a ſhort time to ſtay, and therefore if they had any thing to ſay, they ſhould diſpatch quickly, otherwiſe he would not tarry. Thereupon the *Turks* threw a Letter ty'd to a ſtone into the Galley; which Letter was deliver'd to the Grand Maſter, and read in Council. In this Letter *Solyman* demanded that *Rhodes* ſhould be ſurrender'd up to him, promiſing ſecurity, and good uſage to all in general, with liberty to the Inhabitants to enjoy their own Laws and Religion, permiſſion to them that would depart freely with their families and eſtates, and great advantages to them that would take up Armes in his ſervice. Otherwiſe he threaten'd utterly

to ruin the City, walls and Towers, and to make the Inhabitants all ſlaves. To this the Council thought it not convenient to return any anſwer, but to ſtand reſolutely upon their guard. Thereupon the Grand Maſter having certain advice that the Fleet was under ſail, defac'd all the Gardens without the City, beginning with his own, and caus'd the Earth and rubbiſh to be carry'd into the Town, where it was of great uſe for the repair of breaches. He ſent alſo for the Country people in, poyſon'd the waters, and burnt the Corn and ſtraw that remain'd upon the Ground. The Vanguard of the Fleet that firſt appear'd conſiſted of 30 Gallys; out of which ſome few of the *Turks* landed in *Lango* to burn and pillage according to their cuſtom. But the Commander of the Fort mounting all his men, charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that having ſlain five or ſix, and taken three priſoners, he drove the reſt to their Galleys, though his own Horſe were kill'd under him, and ſome few of his men wounded. Thereupon the *Turks* left *Lango*, and made to the

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Jews Caſtle, and ſo entring the Gulf of *Eſſimes*, about fifteen miles from *Rhodes* they were firſt diſcover'd by the ſentinels from Mount *Sallac*. The 24*th*. of *June*, being St. *Johns* day, the *Turks* came to an anchor on that ſide of *Rhodes*, where ſtood the Caſtle *Favit*. There they landed, and burnt the Corn upon the ground, & the ſame day the body of the Fleet appear'd in the Gulf of *Eſſimes*, where the 30 Galleys joyn'd with the main Body. And yet the danger being ſo neer, there happen'd almoſt as dangerous a Conteſt between the *Auvergnian*, and *German* Languages; while the *Germans* pretended that one part of the new *Baſtion* next St. *Georges* Gate belong'd to them, and the *Auvergnians*, claim'd it to themſelves; inſomuch that they had like to have come to blows. But the Grand Maſter interpoſing his Authority, the deciſion of the controverſie was referr'd to the next General Chapter. In the mean time it was order'd that no other enſigns ſhould be ſet up there but thoſe of the Grand Maſter and of the Order.

The 26 of *June* the whole Fleet was discover'd making directly from the Gulf of *Essimes* for *Rhodes*; and coming to that part of the Isle which is call'd the *Foss* or *Hole*, 8 miles from *Rhodes*, they came to an Anchor; which not a little consternated the women and common people of the City. But the Grand Master without the least shew of Alteration in his Countenance, with his accustom'd constancy and serenity, went up and down from place to place providing for every thing; and that very day, which seem'd to be the most terrible, caus'd Service to be said, and Processions to be made with the same order and tranquility, as if it had bin in a time of undisturb'd peace. After that, he caus'd the Gates to be shut, and issu'd out of his palace arm'd, and attended by his guards, causing the Drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound, the Souldiers to take their appointed Posts, and set up the standards and ensigns upon the several Towers and *Bastions*, which a far off afforded a noble and magnificent sight, reviv'd the courage of the Souldiery, and settled

tled the Reſolution of the people. In the mean time the 30 Galleys made up to Cape St. *Martin*, there to keep Guard, and to ſurprize ſuch Veſſels as ſhould come to bring relief to the beſieged. Late in the evening the whole Fleet, conſiſting of a hundred ſail, left the *Foſs* or *Hole*, and paſſing by the Port at three miles diſtance, came and rode in another part of the Iſland at a place call'd *Parambolin*, ſix miles from the City; becauſe it was a rode ſecure from the Weſt winds that blow hard in that Channel. Some dayes after the reſt of the Fleet joyn'd, and lay there at an Anchor all the time of the Siege.

There were in this Fleet a hundred Galleys, beſides the thirty before mentioned; thirty great Galeaſſes, fifteen Mahons, twenty Flat-bottom'd Boats, ſixty Fuſts, and a great number of Brigantines, ten or twelve great Ships, as big as Gallions, carrying proviſions. Some few daies after arriv'd more from *Syria*, and other parts; ſo that the whole Fleet conſiſted of 400 Sail of all ſorts, and the Army of two hundred

hundred thouſand men, of which ſixty thouſand were Pioneers.

The ſame day that the Fleet arriv'd at *Parambolin*, the Grand Maſter diſpatch'd the Chevalier *Breſols* to the Pope, the Chevalier *Andugar* to the Emperour and King of *Spain*, and the Chevalier *D'Anſonville* to the Kings of *England* and *France*, to give them notice of the Siege, and to crave ſuccour. Other Knights he diſpatch'd away to buy all the Ammunition and war-like Proviſions they could, and to haſten back with all ſpeed to *Rhodes*. He alſo ſent away ſummons to the abſent Knights, to repair forthwith to the defence of their Iſland.

The *Turks* were thirteen daies before they made one ſhot, or any other attempt, by reaſon that the *Lycian* Army was not come up; but no ſooner was that Army enter'd the Iſland, but the *Turks* began to ſet up their Pavilions, and to lodge their Camp in a place out of the reach of the *Rhodian* Artillery, to land their Guns, mount and plant them, open their Trenches, and make their approaches. Then it was

was that the Grand Maſter left his own Palace, and took up his Quarters in St. *Marys* of the Victorie, as being the weakeſt part of the City, and upon which the *Turks* in ther former Siege had made their chiefeſt Aſſaults. At the ſame time alſo the *Turks*, for a beginning, rais'd a little Penthouſe of Boards, from whence they ſhot at the Poſts of *England* and *Provence*. But the Artillery from the Town immediately ruin'd it, and kill'd the Cannoneers. After that they rais'd two other Batteries upon the Hill of Saint *Coſmus*, and St. *Damian*, and ſhot againſt the Poſts of *England* and *Spain*, but the ſhot from the City ruin'd thoſe in the ſame manner.

As the *Turks* were labouring to advance their Trenches to the place where they deſign'd to plant their Canon, the beſieg'd were very deſirous to make a Salley; to which the Grand Maſter having giv'n his conſent, St. *Athanaſius*'s Gate was open'd, and out they fell upon thoſe that were working in the Trenches; with whom they made ſuch work, that the *Turk*

were all cut to pieces, before any relief could come to them. But then the beſieged obſerving a great Body making toward them, retir'd skirmiſhing under the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Guns, which then playing upon the Enemy, made a dreadful havock among them, in regard they came on ſo thick, that it was impoſſible for a bullet to miſs. The Chriſtians afterwards made ſome Sallies with like ſucceſs; but becauſe ſome one or other ſtill fell, the Grand Maſter conſidering that the loſs of one man was more to him then the loſs of a hundred to the Enemy, forbid any more Sallies to be made: For it was obſerv'd, that during the Siege the firſt Army was recruited with above a hundred thouſand men; which was an eaſie thing for them to do, having the Land ſo near them to befriend them, and ſuch a number of Veſſels every day ready at command.

The Salleys being over, the *Turks* advanc'd their Trenches with more freedom. So that they rais'd in ſeveral places above ſixty Batteries, chiefly againſt

againſt the Poſts of *England*, *Provence*, *Spain* and *Italy*; but the Artillery from the Town overthrew ſo many, that only thirty four remain'd.

At that time arriv'd at R*hodes* a Gentleman whoſe name was *Gabriel Radin Martinengo*, a perſon well known for his skill in Fortifications, whom *Bozio* had perſwaded to leave *Candy* and come to the aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*. Him the Grand Maſter highly honour'd, gave him the habit of the Order, and permiſſion to wear the Croſs; made him ſupernitendant over the Artillery, with a promiſe of the firſt Vacancy that fell in the *Italian* Language: honours which he highly deſerv'd, by carrying himſelf ſo nobly and vertuouſly all the time of the Siege.

Now that the Grand Maſter might ſet him at work, he ſignifi'd his deſire to know the condition of the *Turkiſh* Army, and what they intended to do. Whereupon, a Mariner, born in *Trebizond*, then in the ſervice of the Order, took ſeven or eight young men of his acquaintance, and having ſhav'd

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and clad themſelves in Turkiſh Habit, they took Melons, Cowcumbers, and other fruits, and ſecretly embark'd themſelves the next night: and avoyding the Turkiſh Fleet, made out to the Sea, and ſo return'd by break of day in ſight of *Rhodes*, as if they had come from *Turky*. From thence they made to the *Cape* which is neareſt to *Lycia*, where the Merchants met from all parts to ſell Refreſhments of all ſorts to the Army. There they put to ſale their Melons and Cowcumbers, and frankly inquir'd what news of the Army. The *Turks*, who took them for natural *Turks*, as willingly ſatisfy'd them, and told them the whole condition of their Forces. When they had ſold all, and underſtood all, they made out to Sea again, having receiv'd two *Turks* into their Veſſel, with much entreaty, that were weary of an Army Life. Thoſe they bound hand and foot, and brought along with them into *Rhodes*, and preſented to the Grand Maſter, who order'd the *Prior* of St. *Giles*, and *Martinengo* to examin them. Theſe two *Turks* being

ing carry'd up to the ſteeple of St. *John*, ſhew'd the *Prior* and *Martinengo* how the Quarters of the Turkish Army were diſpos'd; told them the Number of the Souldiers; that *Solyman* himſelf was ſpeedily expected; that the Souldiers grew out of heart, and mutined againſt their Commanders, being weary of a war, to which they cry'd they were lead as to a Slaughter Houſe, with many other things not believ'd at firſt, as being thought to have bin ſpoken out of flattery, or to procure good entertainment to themſelves, but which were indeed really true. For *Peri Baſha* obſerving a manifeſt and dangerous Mutiny in the Army, diſpatch'd away a Courrier to *Solyman* to give him Intelligence, and to ſupplicate him to come in perſon forthwith, that he might put a ſtop to the ſedition by his preſence and Authority. *Solyman* flies through *Aſia* the leſs with an incredible ſpeed, and embarking at Port *Fiſco*, arriv'd in *Rhodes* the 28th. of *July*, where he was receiv'd with great triumph, and lodg'd himſelf four or five miles from the City at a place call'd

call'd *Megalandra*, out of the reach of the Canon. *Solyman* held a council, and reſolv'd upon a ſtrict enquiry whence the Mutiny proceeded, and a ſevere puniſhment of the Authors. But *Peri Baſha* by his grave remonſtrances ſoon ſoftned and appeas'd his wrath. He laid before him that this mutiny rather proceeded from fear & an apprehenſion of danger then from Malice or Rebellion, and that therefore his Majeſty might by his authority reduce them to their duty, knowing that the *Turks* had the *Ottoman* name in ſo much Veneration, that upon his appearance they would ſoon recollect themſelves, and return to their Obedience; but that Rigour was now unſeaſonable, eſpecially againſt the old Souldiers, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could never compaſs ſo great a deſign as the taking of *Rhodes*. *Solyman* hearken'd to his advice, aſſembled all the Army together, made them lay down their Armes, and proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground: then ſitting on a Royal Throne, under a Rich Canopy, turning his face this way and

" that

" that way with a Majeſtick and ſtern
" Countenance, He firſt accus'd their
" Infidelity; hightn'd the injuries done
" by the Knights of *Rhodes* to his Sub-
" jects, advanc'd his own power, his
" Triumphs and his Victories; upbrai-
" ded the Old Souldiers of Ingratitude,
" as having enrich'd themſelves by his
" fortune in war; of Cowardice, to
" let ſuch a handful of men make head
" againſt ſuch a Potent and flouriſhing
" Army. *Laſtly*, ſaid he, am not I here
" the Companion of your dangers?
" Nor will I part from hence till I
" have them in my power. I ſwear
" it by the holy head of divine *Ma-*
" *homet*; and if I fail, may my King-
" domes and my houſe be ruin'd, and
" my own perſon periſh eternally. Go
" then, and think of nothing elſe but
" what you are commanded. Nor let
" any man diſtruſt my clemency, nor
" my word, but build upon my Libera-
" lity. For I am here the ſpectator and
" judge of your Valour & your Merits.

Solyman had no ſooner ended his Harangue, but he withdrew into his Pavilion, and commanded that the Soul-

diers ſhould be all ſworn anew to their Captaines. And from that time it was, that the Souldiers recover'd their courage, became more obedient and deliberate, and proceeded in all things with more order and conduct. Now they continu'd their batteries more terribly then before. They alſo play'd in three ſeveral places with two great braſs-Cannons like Morter-Peices, that carry'd marble-bullets of a prodigious weight, and yet all the harm then to kill 25 men, and the Chevalier *Lyoncel* that commanded the Baſtion of *Coſquin*. This battery they left off by the advice of the Jewiſh Phyſitian, who gave them notice how little good it had done. After the *Turks* made it their buſineſs to advance their trenches, and to fill up the moats with Earth; and though the Artillery of the Chriſtians continually fir'd upon them, nevertheleſs they gave not over their work till they had finiſh'd a great battery between the *Spaniſh* and *Auvergnian* Poſt, and another againſt that of *Italy*, and there they lodg'd their Cannon that play'd upon the beſieg'd ſo furiouſly

furiouſly that they durſt not peep above the battlements, till they had made themſelves new defences of wood and plankes, upon which the Beſiegers having advanc'd their trenches to the ſide of the Moat, made certain gaps in the wall on their ſide, through which they much annoy'd the defendants with their Musket-ſhot, and kill'd ſome few of them. In the mean while the Captains lodg'd themſelves in their Trenches: *Muſtapha* the General againſt the Bulwark of *England*, *Peri* againſt the *Italian* Poſt, *Achmat* againſt that of *Spain*, and *Auvergne*, with the *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*; the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* againſt that of *France*; the *Beglerbey* of *Romania* againſt the Gardens of St. *Antony*, who began a battery at the beginning of *Auguſt*, againſt the *German* Poſt, which was weak, and without any platform. Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter caus'd it to be fortify'd within with intrenchments of Earth, great pieces of Timber-planks, and Bavines, and play'd his Artillery ſo thick from ſeveral places and Poſts on that ſide, ſo that

he diſmounted the Artillery, and overthrew the batteries of the *Turks* till they were aweary of repairing them, and ſo remov'd them.

By this time it was that the *Rhodians* began to find the want of their powder, and though the Grand Maſter continually employ'd fourteen of his own horſes to bray ſaltpeter, and other materials proper to make powder, in a ſure and well-guarded place, yet the beſieged were forc'd to be very ſparing of their powder, which gave great advantage to the enemy. The *Turks* ſeeing no good to be done on that ſide, play'd upon the ſteeple of St. *Johns* Church, and beat it down, upon advice giv'n them by the Jewiſh Phyſitian, that from thence the Chriſtians diſcover'd what was done in the Camp. The ruin of this ſteeple being a lovely ſtructure was much lamented by the Inhabitants. This done, the Beſiegers under the command of the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* remov'd their batteries againſt the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, which they furiouſly play'd upon for the ſpace of ten days with twelve

twelve great pieces of Canon; but the Artillery from the Tower broke and ruin'd all their batteries, ſo that the *Beglerbey* was conſtrain'd to change the form of his batteries, to remove his mantlets; (which are made of Earth cloſe ramm'd, and clos'd with boards faſten'd together with great ſpars of timber) to diſmount his Guns, and plant them in the night upon great platforms without gabions or Mantlet, with which playing ſecurely all the night, when day appear'd they cover'd them again with Earth and gravel. Thus they made above 500 ſhot which onely beat down a pane of the wall on the weſt-ſide, through which appear'd another good wall, and ſo many ſtout defendants, that theſe difficulties being related to *Solyman*, he caus'd the ſaid Battery to be remov'd, whereby the Chevalier *Caſtellaine* Captain of St. *Nicholas* Tower acquir'd great honour. At the ſame time the *Turks* rais'd 14 Mantelets againſt the Poſts of *England* and *Spain*, upon which they planted Guns of a prodigious bigneſs, and play'd upon them

for a month together, ſo that they ruin'd the new wall of the *Engliſh* Platform, while the old wall ſtood entire; beſide that they brought through their trenches unto the Moat three huge peices of Canon, with which they levell'd the defences of the Baſtion of *Spain*, and beat down the wall, by the ruins whereof the *Turks* might eaſily mount the Baſtion. The ſame Battery they rais'd againſt the Baſtion of *Provence* with three peices of Canon planted upon the ſide of the Moat, and in a ſmall time threw down more then the beſiegers in a long time were able to repair. Then the Grand Maſter leaving St. *Maries of the Victory* came to St. *Athanaſius* Gate, and lodg'd himſelf under the *Engliſh* wall, and there he conſtituted four Captains, allotting to each ten Knights, beſides the Ordinary Guard to ſuccour and preſerve the *Engliſh* wall. Beſides all this, the *Turks* continually play'd with their *Sacres* and *Falcons*, and other ſmall Artillery; and the beſieged did the like, which ſtood them in no ſmall ſtead to ruin their Mantlets,

and

and diſmount their peices. Among the reſt, a Culverin ſhot pierced through a Mantlet upon one piece, kill'd five men, and carry'd away both legs of the *Turkiſh* Canoneer, of which he dy'd. *Solyman* was much troubl'd for his loſs, inſomuch that he ſaid he had rather have loſt one of his Baſha's. Nor was the *Italian* Poſt more mercifully handl'd, which was continually batter'd by ſeventeen pieces of Canon, ſo that it had bin an eaſy thing to have mounted the wall by the ruins that fell into the Moat. Yet though this long battery had made a great breach in the *Italian* Poſt, yet would not the beſiegers venture an aſſault, but onely continu'd to make their approaches and to ruin the entrenchments, and defences of the beſieged. Which the Chevalier *Martinengo* ſeeing, with the Grand Maſters permiſſion, made a ſally with about an hundred choice men, and falling upon the Enemy unawares, kill'd & put to flight whatever ſtood in their way, and ſo with one priſoner and the head of another, return'd with

great applauſe. The *Turks* that came in heaps to the relief of their own, were miſerably torn to pieces by the Artillery of the Town, having no ſhelter, and loſt a greater number in their retreat then *Martinengo* flew.

This being the condition of the City, the Grand Maſter, who knew it would not be long ere they gave a General Aſſault, diſpatch'd away *Boſio* to the Pope, and his Secretary into *Provence* and to the King of *France*, beſeeching them to haſten the ſuccours which he expected from them. Being alſo deſirous to know what news was in the *Turkiſh* Camp, one *Carpathio* a *Rhodian* undertook to ſatisfy him, and getting out of the Poſt in a Brigantine with a crew of good Souldiers clad after the *Turkiſh* manner, he coaſted along the ſhoar as far as the *Foſs*, where he ſaw ſeveral Souldiers that were taking the freſh Air by the Sea-ſide, who immediately diſcover'd him. The *Rhodiot* put on a bold face, and in the *Turkiſh* Language call'd to them aloud, and told them, the *Baſha* had ſent for them,

them, which they eaſily believ'd, and went aboard the *Brigantine*. One of the *Turks* finding he was in the wrong, drew his Sword and wounded the *Rhodiot* in the thigh, for which the *Rhodian* repay'd him by cutting off his head; the reſt being elev'n, were eaſily maſter'd, and brought to the Grand Maſter.

Now *Martinengo* ſeeing the great ruins which the Enemies Artillery had made, rais'd barricadoes, and wrought entrenchments upon the walls, where he planted a good number of Guns, which playing into the Enemies Trenches, kill'd a great Number of the *Turks*; he alſo lodg'd ſeveral Souldiers under the ſhelter of the houſes, who ſhot inceſſantly, and made a great ſlaughter.

The Batteries of the *Turks* not ſucceeding to their wiſhes, they fell to mining; and had in ſeveral parts of the City made above forty, ſo that of ſix parts of the City, five in a few days were undermin'd. But the moſt part of thoſe Mines prov'd ineffectual, becauſe of the Counter-mnies which were

were continually made round about. There was one that was perceiv'd in the midſt of the Trench of *Provence*. But *Martinengo* immediately enter'd the Trench, open'd the Mine, and caſting in barrels of Powder and other combuſtible ſtuff, burnt and ſtifled all the *Turks* within. Another Mine the *Turks* made under the Bulwark of *England* which play'd the fourth of *September*, and blew up above ſeven times nine foot of the wall, and fill'd the Moat ſo full of rubbiſh, that the *Turks*, that they might eaſily mount the wall, and come on furiouſly to the Aſſault with their accuſtom'd cries, gain'd the top of the Baſtion immediately, and ſet up ſeven of their Colours, and had made themſelves maſters of it, but for an Intrenchment which *Martinengo* had made the day before, which ſtood entire about four foot from the Ruins of the wall. That Intrenchment ſtopt the Enemy; and thither the Knights ran and came to a cloſe fight with Pike and Sword; while others did great miſchief to the Enemy with hand-Granadoes and other Artificial fires; and there

there it was that *Martinengo* and the Chevelier *de Bidoux* did wonders, becoming men of Extraordinary valour and courage. Here they came to Sword and Dagger, and even to coller one another; the *Turks* perceiving that if they could but get the victory here, they might eaſily get into the City. And indeed that ſmall handful of Chriſtians that ſuſtain'd the weight of ſuch a multitude, could not have bin able to have held out, had not the Grand Maſter, upon the noiſe of the blowing up of the Mine haſted to their Relief, and with the Knights of the reſerve, and the Souldiers of his guard, ruſh'd into the midſt of his Enemies, and charg'd them ſo furiouſly, that in a ſmall time a good part of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſo ſmartly repuls'd, that they quitted the fight, and fled in confuſion, and diſorder'd and aſtoniſh'd thoſe that were coming to their aſſiſtance, ſo that neither the threats, nor Exhortations of the Captains could ſtop them. Which the General *Muſtapha* ſeeing, flew out of the Trenches in great indignation,

crying

crying to the fugitives aloud, that if they would not return to the Assault, he would go on without them, and having so said, boldly march'd toward the breach.

His countenance and Language inspir'd the fugitives with new vigour, so that they rally'd and return'd with their *Bassha* more resolutely then before to the Assault, and maintain'd the fight for above two hours. At length the Christians redoubling their courage, and animated by the presence and Example of the Grand Master, fell upon the *Turks* with that fury, that being no longer able to resist, they turn'd their backs; besides the *Rhodian* Canoneers had planted certain pieces against the bottom of the breach which play'd upon the *Turks* retiring, so successfully, that they kill'd more then were slain in the Assault. Two thousand of the *Turks* were slain that day: of the *Rhodians* twelve or fifteen slain out-right; and fifteen or twenty wounded. In the midst of these encounters the Chevalier *Didier de Puy* Governour of *Ferracta* gave notice to the Grand Master,

ſter, that he had taken certain *Turks*, who confeſs'd that there were in *Rhodes* certain Perſons of Quality who ſent the Enemy Intelligence of what was deliberated & concluded in Council, and of all that was done in the City, and that the *Turks* were digging a large Mine nere St. *John's de Collaccio*. This was no ſinall trouble to the Grand Maſter, ſo much the more becauſe he was forc'd to conceal his reſentments, by reaſon that no perſons were nam'd. However he promis'd a large reward to thoſe that could diſcover the Mine. But it was not long before it diſcover'd it ſelf under the Baſtion of *England*, by ſeven a clock in the morning upon the ninth of *September*, overthrowing about nine yards of the wall next to the Mine before-mention'd, and came to the very barricado's before they met with any reſiſtance. But when the Dread and terrour was once over, the Knights reſuming their wonted courage, put the *Turks* to a ſhameful retreat, till forc'd by the ſwords and ſcimitars of their Commanders, even of their General himſelf, they return'd

again

again with more vigour, and renew'd a bloody fight; but the Grand Maſter coming to the relief of his own with his reſerve, fought them with ſo much fury for three hours, that the *Turks* no longer able to abide ſo powerful a defence, quitted the fight, and retir'd into their Trenches, leaving one of their Enſignes behind them. This Aſſault coſt the Great *Turk* three thouſand of his men, and three *Sangiacs*; of the Chriſtians about 30 were ſlain and ſome of the Knights wounded.

The *Turkes* repuls'd with ſo much loſs in two aſſaults, began again to murmur and diſcommend the enterprize as raſh and impoſſible. Which *Solyman* perceiving, began to deſpair, and to be offended againſt *Muſtapha*. The mean time *Peri Baſha* to preſerve himſelf in the good Opinion and favours of the Grand Signiour, preſs'd him continually to make a furious battery of 17 Canons againſt the *Italian* Poſt: But the beſieged ſtill repair'd with ſo much ſpeed and diligence whatever the Enemies Artillery ruin'd, and play'd their great and ſmall ſhot with

with ſo much ſucceſs, that the *Turks* durſt hardly peep out of their Trenches. The *Beglerbeg* of *Natolia* did the ſame againſt the Poſt of *Provence*, and fell to mining very induſtriouſly, being adviſ'd thereto by a treacherous *Greek*, who under pretence of trade had well obſerv'd the ſtrength of the City. But the moſt remarkable accident was the killing of the Governour of *Negropont*, and *Solyman*'s Favorite, who riding by the *Italian* Poſt richly clad with a red Battoon in his hand, was hit by a musket-bullet from the *Italian* Poſt, and fell down dead immediately; to the great grief of *Solyman*.

Peri enrag'd againſt the *Italians*, reſolv'd to make a moſt terrible aſſault upon their Platform; which he did ſo unexpectedly and with ſo much ſpeed, that the ſentinels that ſtood without the Entrenchment were kill'd before they could be ſuccour'd. But the *Italians* taking the Alarum, and being well ſeconded by the Grand Maſter and his uſual guard, in an hours time the Baſtion was well ſoak'd with the Blood of the *Turks*. *Peri*, finding ſuch

ſuch a ſtout reſiſtance here, and believing that other places were left naked, gave immediate order for other forces to aſſail the New Baſtion of the Grand Maſter *Carretta*; but there the Chevalier *Angelot* Captain of the Baſtion ſo behav'd himſelf, having a good number of Souldiers and Citizens with him, that the moſt part of the *Turks* were either kill'd or wounded, and the Flanking Artillery of other Baſtions made ſuch havock among the thick multitudes of the *Turks*, that at length, quite diſmay'd, they began to retire. *Peri* thereupon ſeeing the Souldiers would no longer abide the heat of ſuch a terrible encounter, ſounded a general Retreat, though with the loſs of more men then in the former combats.

Not long after *Muſtapha*, covetous to repair his honour, and to regain the favour of the Grand Signiour, reſolv'd to give a third aſſault to the Baſtion of *England*. He imparted his reſolution to the *Achmat*, who agreed with him at the ſame time to aſſail the Baſtions of *Spain* and *Auvergne*.

Upon

Upon the 3*d.* of *September Muſtapha* unexpectedly fell upon the Baſtion, mounted the Ruins, and fix'd their Enſigns neer the *Rhodian* Entrenchments, and at the ſame time endeavour'd to make their way forward. The fight was terrible and doubtful: neither was *Muſtapha* wanting in any part of a judicious and couragious Captain. *Achmat* alſo at the ſame time play'd two Mines, one in the *Auvergnian*, the other in the *Spaniſh* Poſt. The *Auvergnian* Mine prov'd ineffectual; the *Spaniſh* Mine brought down a conſiderable part of the wall of the *Barbacan* of the ſaid Baſtion. And yet for theſe dreadful Ruins, the Chriſtians ſo well behav'd themſelves in every place, that the *Turks*, having loſt above 3000 men, were forc'd to retreat with ſhame to their Trenches. Two dayes after the *Jewiſh* Phyſitian (often ſpok'n of before) was diſcover'd ſhooting an Arrow into the *Turkiſh* Camp, with a Letter faſten'd to the end of it. Thereupon he was apprehended; and upon his examination confeſs'd that he was a Spy for the

Turks; that he had ſent them five Letters; that he had given them ſeveral advices; and had encourag'd them to continue the Siege: For which He was condemn'd to be quarter'd.

After theſe Repulſes, and the giving fire to three other Mines ſoon after, that did little or no harm, the *Baſha*'s conſulted together, and reſolv'd to give a general aſſault upon fore ſeveral places of the City all at a time. *Soliman* approv'd their Reſolution, aſſembl'd his Captains together, encourag'd and chear'd them up; and aſſur'd them of Victory; and by publick Proclamation gave the common Souldiers the whole Plunder of the City. Thus the whole Army reſum'd their wonted courage, and full of Hopes prepar'd themſelves for a general Aſſault. As a preparation to which the *Baſha*'s order the *Engliſh* Bulwark, the Poſts of *Spain* and *Auvergne*, and the *Italian* Platform to be batter'd for two dayes together, on purpoſe to widen and enlarge the Breaches.

The Grand Maſter obſerving this univerſal motion of the Enemy, and their

their continual Batteries for 2 days together, with an extraordinary diligence, prepar'd for his defence. Day and night he viſited all the Poſts, earneſtly beſought every one to be watchful and ready; and having taken a little repoſe in his armes, by break of day he rang'd the Souldiers in their ſeveral Poſts; and that there might remain no fear or aſtoniſhment among them, he made "them a ſhort ſpeech, Declaring "to them the glorious opportunity "which offer'd it ſelf for them to ſig- "nalize their Zeal for the honour of "God, & their fidelity to their Order "and the welfare of Chriſtendom; and "their affection to a people that had "liv'd under their Dominion for above "200 years. He gave them to un- "derſtand how often they had prov'd "their own valour and the timidity "of the Enemy. That though their "number were great, yet that there "was yet a ſufficient number left of "brave and valiant men to defend "a juſt cauſe, and repel the force "of Ambition and perfidious impie- "ty. That they were to conſider

"their Enemies were a ſort of igno-
"rant people, forc'd on by their *Ba-*
"*ſha*'s, for fear of encurring the diſ-
"pleaſure of their Maſter, to whom
"they had repreſented the enterprize
"ſo eaſy: that they themſelves were
"perſons of honour, dedicated from
"their Infancy to the ſervice of God.
"And therefore he beſought and con-
"jur'd them to do their duties.

The *Turks* by break of day diſ-charg'd all their Artilleriy at once, that they might paſs the Moat un-der the covert of the ſmoak; and that don, they boldly fell on in all places at once. The Grand Maſter poſted himſelf in the *Engliſh* Bulwark, as be-ing the weakeſt place. Nor was the *Spaniſh* Artillery a little favourable to the *Engliſh*, flanking the *Turks*, and making a great ſlaughter among them inſomuch that they were almoſt rea-dy to recoyle; when *Muſtapha*'s Lieutenant throwing himſelf among them, pray'd, entreated, threaten'd, promis'd and heading them himſelf, brought them on again; though to his coſt, being the firſt man ſlain with a

Canon

Canon Bullet as he was mounting the Ruins. The *Turks* enrag'd by his fall, diſcharg'd their ſmall ſhot and arrows like hail upon the *Rhodians*. And *Muſtapha* obſerving their Metall, ſent them continually freſh ſupplies, and with fair words and promiſes exhorted them to their Duties. Yet could they not force the beſieg'd to ſtir a foot, who in the view of the Grand Maſter with an invincible courage ſuſtain'd all that Impetuoſity, and at the ſame time fought with equal valour and obſtinacy in all the other Quarters. The very women were not unſerviceable; while ſome carry'd Bread, Wine and other refreſhments to the Souldiers, others threw ſtones; others pour'd down boyling Oyle and water upon the Enemy. But the greateſt danger of the Combat was in the *Spaniſh* Poſt, where the *Aga* General of the *Janiſſaries*, having pick'd out the choiceſt of his men, march'd himſelf to the Aſſault at the head of them, who follow'd him with ſuch a Reſoluton, that they

cover'd all the Breach, gain'd the platform above, and planted forty of their Enſigns upon it, with the ſame violence ruſhing on to the *Barricado*'s, not minding the prodigious ſlaughter of their own that fell on every ſide. Thereupon the Knights and Souldiers in the *Spaniſh* Bulwark, ſeeing the diſtreſs of thoſe in the Poſt, ran to the aſſiſtance of their friends, leaving only ſome few for a guard behind. Which certain of the *Turks* that lay conceal'd behind the rubbiſh perceiving, preſently mounted the Bulwark, and made themſelves Maſters of it; pull'd down the Enſigns of the Chriſtians, and ſetting up their own, cry'd out in their own Language, *Victory*, and invited their Companions to aſſiſt them. Upon which *Achmats* Regiment advanc'd; but the *Auvergnian* & *Spaniſh* Artillery ſoon ſtopp'd their Career, So that the Grand Maſter bei ng advertiz'd of this new accident, left the *Engliſh*, and entring the *Spaniſh* Poſt, charg'd the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that he put them abſolutely

to

to flight. Then ſeeing the *Spaniſh* Baſtion maſter'd by the *Turks*, he ſent the Commander of *Bourbon* with a Company of ſtout Souldiers with order to enter the Mine and Caſemat, and to mount the Baſtion. Which he did ſo effectually, that in a ſhort time he wholly regain'd it. Notwithſtanding all this, the *Aga* with freſh forces return'd to the aſſault of the *Spaniſh* Poſt; and the Grand Maſter having left a ſufficient Guard in the Baſtion, return'd to the defence of the ſame, and ſending for two hundred freſh men from St. *Nicholas* Tower, after a bloody fight of ſix hours, forc'd the *Turks* to abandon their Colours, and to retreat to their trenches, after the loſs of above 15000 men. *Solyman* was ſo highly incens'd againſt *Muſtapha* upon this defeat, that he condemn'd him to be ſhot to death with arrows. *Peri Baſha*, upon the preſumption of his Age, his merits, and his Authority, coming to intercede for *Muſtapha*, was ſentenc'd to the ſame death. And both had ſuffer'd

had not *Achmat Baſha* and all the reſt of the Principal Commanders, proſtrate at *Solymans* feet, implor'd their pardon.

Solyman ſeeing all his attempts upon the City of *Rhodes* ſo vain and fruitleſs, fell into ſuch a deep melancholy, that he ſhut himſelf up in his Pavilion for ſeveral dayes, and would not be ſeen, reſolving to raiſe the ſiege and to be gone. The great Commanders whoſe hopes lay all in the Mines, finding their expectations fruſtrate, reſolv'd to raiſe the Camp. Nay ſeveral had carry'd their baggage to the Sea ſide, and ſeveral Companies had quitted the Trenches. When an *Albaneſe* Souldier ſlipping out of the Town, gave intelligence to the *Turks*, that the greateſt part of the Knights and Souldiers were either kill'd or wounded in the laſt General Aſſault. Other Traytours wrought the ſame, adviz'd them to ſtay, aſſuring them that the City could not hold out two Aſſaults more. And it was afterwards known that the Chevalier *D'Amaral* wrought

wrought to the ſame purpoſe, and encourag'd the continuance of the ſiege. Upon this Intelligence the Captains chang'd their Reſolutions, divulg'd the news through the Army, and began to batter the City more furiouſly then before. *Solyman* alſo to let the Souldiers underſtand his Reſolution, and to encourage them, began to build him a pleaſure-houſe upon *Palermos* Hill. *Muſtapha* alſo, though he had orders to repair to his Government, ventur'd to give three Aſſaults ſucceſſively upon the *Engliſh* Baſtion with the *Mamalucks*, who were ſo ill entertain'd, the greateſt part of them being kill'd or wounded, that the reſt retir'd to their Quarters, reſolving to return no more. *Peri* ſecretly undermind the *Italian* Baſtion, & the Mine indeed made a terrible noiſe and ſhaking, but took vent on the Camp ſide, and kill'd a great many of the *Turks*.

Muſtapha having ſuch ill ſucceſs, thought it not convenient to ſtay any longer, ſo that upon his departure *Achmat* was made General. He continu'd

tinu'd the ſiege with the ſame violence, ſo that there was not a day paſs'd wherein he did not both batter, Aſſault and undermine the defences of the City. However the Grand Maſter remitted nothing of his wonted care and diligence, fighting and hazarding his perſon every where, where need requir'd, beyond what was reaſonable for a perſon of his degree and Importance.

And now when it was almoſt too late, thoſe conſpiracies and treaſons were diſcover'd, which were the loſs of the Iſland. For in the firſt place *Lucio Cuſtrophilaca*, a *Rhodian*, and a perſon of great wealth, reputation and alliances, who had the charge of the fortifications, the bread and ammunition was perceiv'd, at a time and in a place very much to be ſuſpected, to have ſhot an arrow into the *Turkiſh* Camp, who was thereupon lay hold on, examin'd, and put upon the wrack, but would confeſs nothing to the purpoſe. Next to him *Blas Diez* Servant to the Chancellour

cellour *D'Amaral*, was taken in the ſame fact, and being put to the Torture, confeſs'd his Maſters Treaſon, declaring how he had wrote to the *Turks Baſha*'s to contiuue the Siege, for that both men and proviſions fail'd in the City. Thereupon the Grand Maſter caus'd the Chancellour to be apprehended, who being examin'd and tortur'd, would confeſs nothing himſelf; but being convicted by ſufficient teſtimonies, confirm'd to his face by his Servant, his Servant was hang'd, and he beheaded, dying without any ſign of repentance or Chriſtian devotion.

In the mean time the Canons of the Enemy thunder'd againſt the Baſtion of *Italy*, where they ruin'd all the defences and Barricado's that *Martinengo* had rais'd; by which means they advanc'd their Trenches to the very foot of the Breach. The Baſtion of *England* was alſo beaten down to the Ground, and the moſt part of the Barricado's and entrenchments ruin'd, ſo that ſome advis'd the quitting and blowing it up. But becauſe that ſignifi'd

ſignifi'd little in regard of the vaſt numbers of the *Turks*, the Grand Maſter reſolv'd to hold it out to the utmoſt, and to that end gave the command of it to the Chevalier *John de Bin*, who kept it to the laſt.

At this time arriv'd the Chevalier *de Rocque Martin* with twelve Knights, a hundred Souldiers and ſome Ammunition. But notwithſtanding this ſmall relief, the Grand Maſter obſerving the deſperate condition of the City (for now in ſome places there were no other defences but beames and boards between the Enemy and him, beſide that they had ſet up three Pavilions within the City neer the *Rhodian* entrenchments) ſent away to *Candy* for Souldiers, Ammunition and victuals, which the Duke of *Candy* had provided, as alſo to *Naples* to haſten the ſuccours, which the winter ſeaſon hinder'd from coming.

In the mean while the *Turks* gave too deſperate Aſſaults upon the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Platforms, but were ſtill repuls'd with the loſs of above

bove 3000 men. Inſomuch that *Achmat* finding it impoſſible to take the City by force, reſolv'd to give no more Aſſaults, but rather choſe to preſerve his men, who were grown quite weary of the Chriſtian valour; nevertheleſs he continu'd his batteries, and advanc'd his Trenches, thinking to creep by degrees into the City. *Solyman* alſo thinking to make ſhort work caus'd ſeveral Letters to be ſhot into the City, inviting the Inhabitants to ſurrender, offering them all the Immunities they could deſire; and threatning on the other ſide in caſe of obſtinacy, all the ſeverity imaginable. *Peri* alſo ſuborn'd a *Genoeſe*, who having liberty to ſpeak to the Knights, adviz'd them as Chriſtians to conſider the deplorable condition of the City, and told them withal, that if they were ſo diſpos'd, he could put them in a way to make an honourable compoſition; but they believing him to be ſome impoſtor, ſent under hand by *Solyman* or his *Baſha's*, gave little credit to his words. Two dayes after

he

he came to the ſame place, pretending he had a Letter from the Grand Signiour, but then they bid him retire, and to forte him the ſooner ſo to do, they ſhot at him.

Some while after came the *Albanian* Souldier before mention'd, pretending Letters alſo from *Solyman* to the Grand Maſter. But then the Grand Maſter forbid any farther Parlying.

However theſe offers were divulg'd abroad in the City, which begat in many a deſire to heark'n to propoſitions of peace as more regarding their wives and Children then their honour. And it was carry'd ſo far, that ſome of the Citizens went and declar'd their deſires to the *Metropolitan*, and ſome of the Grand Croſs, requeſting them to declare their grievances to the Grand Maſter. But he ſeverely check'd them, telling them that it was not a requeſt to be mention'd; that they ſhould rather reſolve to die for the common liberty, and the Honour of the Order. The next day they came and beſought him again to provide for

for the Common ſafety, for that they were aſſur'd that the Citizens would yeild to a treaty, rather then be cut in pieces themſelves, their wives and children. Then the Grand Maſter finding himſelf preſs'd and importun'd of all hands, ſubmitted to neceſſity, and call'd a general Council. So ſoon as the Council was ſat, a Petition was preſented to the Grand Maſter, humbly requeſting him to think of a Capitulation; or at leaſt to give them leave to ſecure their wives and children; and at the foot of the petition was an intimation that if the Grand Maſter would not, they would provide for them themſelves. In this diſtreſs the Grand Maſter; deſirous to know the condition of the City more particularly, before he would reſolve any farther, requir'd the advice of the *Prior of* St. *Giles*, and *Martinengo*, who both declar'd in full Council that in either conſciences, and upon their Honour and allegeance, they could not think the City any longer tenable, the Enemy being lodg'd

forty

forty yards one way, and 30 yards another way within the City, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to retire any farther, nor for the Enemy to be beaten out.

Upon the advice and Relation of two ſuch judicions and great men, the whole Council conſidering how much it concern'd them to preſerve the holy Reliques and the ſouls and honour of ſo many Chriſtian Women and Children, and the evident danger of the whole Orders being diſpierc'd and aboliſh'd, if all that were there ſhould be loſt, reſolv'd with one accord to Capitulate. The Grand Maſter ſtill lay'd before them, the duty that lay upon them to preſerve the honour of the Order, which had never yet bin defil'd with any ſtain of cowardice or puſillanimity, having alwaies preferr'd their honour and Death before the ſafety of their Lives. But the Council overrul'd him with ſo many circumſtantial and ſolid reaſons, that he was conſtrain'd to yield to the preſent and inevitable

neceſſity,

neceſſity, and their grave advice. This deſign Heav'n was ſo far pleas'd to favour, that *Solyman* began firſt. For he firſt ſet up an Enſign upon the Church of St. *Mary de Lermonitra*; and then the Grand Maſter ſet up another upon the Mill belonging to the *Coſquin* Gate. Immediately two *Turks* came out of the Trenches, deſiring to parley: upon which the Grand Maſter ſent forth the Prior of St. *Giles* and *Martinengo*; to whom the *Turks* deliver'd a Letter from *Solyman*.

This Letter was read in Council; wherein *Solyman* demanded a ſurrender of the Town, & offer'd the Knights liberty to be gone, with ſecurity for their perſons and their Baggage: which if they would not accept, he was reſolv'd to put all to the ſword. Thereupon in conſideration onely of the people and Inhabitants of the Town, the ſame Reſolution was again taken, and the Chevalier *Anthony de Grolee*, and *Robert Perucci*, Judge of the *Caſtillians*, were commiſſionated to attend *Solyman*. So ſoon

as they were gone forth, a near Kinſman of *Achmats*, and a *Trucheman* much favour'd by the Grand *Turk*, were admitted unto *Rhodes* as Hoſtages, and a truce was concluded for three dayes.

The next day *Achmat* preſented the Embaſſadours to *Solyman*, who declar'd to him what they had in commiſſion, *Solyman* to maintain his Reputation, firmely deny'd that he had ever wrote or ſent to the Grand Maſter; nevertheleſs ſince the Grand Maſter had ſent to him upon the ſame Occaſion, he commanded them to let him know his mind, which was, the ſame that he had written, and demanded his Reſolution within three dayes, and that in the mean time there ſhould be no working toward the repair of their fortifications, being firmly reſolv'd, though all *Turky* periſh'd, not to ſtir out of the Iſland, till he had *Rhodes* in his poſſeſſion. And having ſo ſaid, he diſmis'd them. *Perucci* return'd to the City. But *Achmat* kept the Chevalier *Grollee* with

with him, led him into his Pavilion, and caus'd him to drink with him; and diſcourſing of ſeveral paſſages in the ſiege, *Achmat* told him with a great oath; that above forty thouſand *Turks* had bin ſlain, and as many were ſick and wounded. *Perucci* having made his report to the Council, it was reſolv'd upon good conſiderations that they ſhould not accept thoſe conditions the firſt time, but ſend other Commiſſioners.

In the mean time certain of the Citizens took upon them, and were mightily offended that the Capitulation was begun, without their privity. Declaring alſo that they would never conſent to any ſuch conditions, but rather die with their Swords in their hands for their liberty, then ſurrender themſelves to the power of the *Turk*. For that whatever the *Turk* promis'd, he would be ſure to exerciſe nothing, but rapine and ſlaughter as he had done at *Belgrade*. The Grand Maſter obſerving this *Grecian* fickleneſs, told them in friendly man-

ner that the Reſolutions he had taken, were reſolv'd upon upon mature deliberation; which conſultations were to be kept ſecret that they might not come to the Enemies knowledge, and that it was more for their ſafety then for the good of the Order, that they made any conditions at all. To which purpoſe he was ſending away other Commiſſioners the better to aſſure himſelf of *Solymans* word and fidelity. With which anſwer the Citizens ſhew'd themſelves very well ſatisfy'd.

Upon this two other Commiſſioners were diſpatch'd away, *Raymond Marquet*, and *Lopezde Pas*, both *Spaniſh* Knights, who repreſented to *Solyman* that the Grand Maſter had to confer with ſeveral people of ſeveral Nations that the time Limited was too ſhort, and therefore deſir'd that he would be pleas'd to grant them a longer time. *Solyman* not reliſhing this diſcourſe without ſaying any more, commanded *Achmat* to continue his batteries, which were begun

begun again upon the 15*th.* of *December* and ſo the Truce was broken. *Solyman* however detain'd one of the Commiſſioners, which ſhew'd that he had yet ſome inclinations to to Capitulate. The Grand Maſter obſerving the Hoſtility begun again, and that the *Turks* advanc'd with their Trenches farther and farther into the Town, ſent for them that hinder'd the treaty, and proteſted to live and die with them, and commanded all the Inhabitants to repair home to their Quarters there to keep guard, and that no perſon ſhould quit his Quarters upon pain of Death. This Order was obſerv'd for two days, but the 3*d.* a young man left his Quarters and went and lay at home, for which the Grand Maſter commanded him to be hang'd. Some few days after that, all the reſt of the Inhabitants loſt both their courage and their patience, and forſook the walls and breaches, ſo that the *Turks* might eaſily have enter'd, had not the Grand Maſter withſtood them

with that ſmall handful of men which he had left him; which ſome few dayes after was a little augmented by the coming of the Chevalier *D'Andugar*, and the Chevalier *Farfan* an *Engliſh* man, with a hundred Souldiers and ſome Wine.

This Wine was a great conſolation to the City, beſides that the Ship made ſuch Bravado's as it enter'd the Port, that the *Turks* generally believ'd it had brought a Relief of above a Thouſand men. However the *Turks* continu'd their Aſſaults, and particularly they made a violent onſet upon the *Spaniſh Barbacan*, from which, though they were at firſt repuls'd, yet returning with ſuch vaſt numbers the *Rhodians* were overwhilm'd and oppreſs'd by multitude, and forc'd to retire into the City. The *Turks* having gain'd the *Barbacan*, preſently came to the foot of the *Engliſh* wall, and by the Ruins of the *Barbacan* got to the top of it, and there planted ſeveral of their Colours. The Citizens beholding the Extream danger

danger they were in, confeſs'd their folly, and beſought the Grand Maſter, as the common Father, to provide for their ſafety, who gave them liberty to conſtitute Deputies of their own to attend *Solyman*, and to procure particular ſecurity from him for themſelves, and order'd them to go along with the Chevalier *Grollee*.

The Grand Maſter however having ſome hopes of relief, to the end he might temporize for a while, ſent *Perucci* firſt to ſhew to *Solyman* a Letter of *Bajazet* his Grandfather, wherein he bequeath'd his malediction to thoſe of his ſucceſſours that ſhould make war againſt *Rhodes*. *Perucci* addreſs'd himſelf to *Achmat*, who deſirous to ſee the Letter, took it, and having torn it to pieces, threw it under his feet in great diſdain. Having ſo done, he ſent *Perucci* back to the Grand Maſter, to tell him, that if he did not ſuddenly return *Solyman* an anſwer, he muſt expect to be miſerable.

However the Grand Master had one more delay, which was to offer to *Solyman* by the proposal of the Chevalier *de Grollee*, otherwise call'd *Passim*, the expences and charges of the whole siege, if he would rise from before it. But *Achmat* would not suffer any such word to be deliver'd to *Solyman*, saying that *Solyman* had more regard to his honour and his Reputation then to all the Riches in the World. At length the Grand Master finding no way to avoyd an agreement, and that delay would be the Loss of all, vanquish'd his own courage, and overwhelm'd with grief and vexation, gave his word to surrender the Town upon the conditions propos'd. To which purpose he sent away the Chevalier *Passim* & the Deputies of the Town, who were presented to his Majesty; to whom the Knights declar'd that the Grand Master was now resolv'd to surrender the City upon the conditions propos'd to him, upon a full assurance in the faith and promises of his Majesty, and humbly

bly entreated him to favour the Inhabitants in the petition which they had to preſent to him for their peace and ſafety. The Inhabitants beſought him to remove his Army a little farther off, that they might not receive any Injury either in their perſons or goods, and that thoſe that would be gone might depart in ſafety. *Solyman* accepted the offer of the Grand Maſter, and promis'd to obſerve inviolably every article of the Capitulation. "That the Churches ſhould "not be profan'd; that none of the "Children ſhould be carry'd away "as *Tribute Children* to make Janiſ-"ſaries. That the Chriſtians ſhould "have the free exerciſe of their Re-"ligion. That the Inhabitants ſhould "be exempt from all duties for five "years. That they that would might "depart in three years with their E-"ſtates unmoleſted. That *Solyman* "ſhould furniſh the Order with Ships "ſufficient to carry them and their "Subjects to *Candy*. That they "ſhould carry off as many of their "great

" great Guns as they could Load.
" That the Caſtles of St. *Peter*, *Lango*,
" and the other Iſlands and Fortreſ-
" ſes belonging to the Order ſhall be
" ſurrender'd to *Solyman*. After that
" *Achmat* ſent into the City 400 Jani-
" ſaries with an *Aga* to take poſſeſſi-
" on, and the Grand Maſter ſent into
" the Camp for Hoſtages 25 Knights,
" and as many Citizens, who were
" by *Achmat* curteouſly entertain'd.

In the mean time *Achmat* came to viſit the Grand Maſter in the Moat of the *Spaniſh* Poſt, where after ſome diſcourſe between them, he gave the Grand Maſter Notice that *Solyman* was deſirous to ſee him, and therefore adviz'd him, as his beſt courſe, to go and wait upon him. The Grand Maſter unwilling to provoke *Solyman*, and to give him any occaſion to break his word, by being ſevere either to the Knights or the *Rhodians*, reſolv'd to follow *Achmats* advice. The next morning therefore he went, in a plain habit, accompani'd with

ſeveral

ſeveral of the Knights; and after he had attended for ſome time before *Solymans* Tent, he was preſented with a noble Veſt, that *Solyman* gave him; which ſo ſoon as he had put on, he was introduc'd into the Grand Signiours Pavilion, and kiſs'd his hand. *Solyman* receiv'd him curteouſly, chear'd him up, and told him by his interpreter, that it was a common thing to looſe or gain Cities and Signiories through the Inſtability of Fortune; exhorted him to take his loſs patiently, and aſſur'd him of a moſt punctual performance of all his promiſes. Then turning to his own people. I cannot but pity, ſaid he, this brave *Man, whom in his Old Age, Neceſſity thus compels to abandon the Seat of his own Dominion.* The Grand Maſter return'd him thanks, beſought him to remember what he had promis'd, and ſo taking his leave, retir'd. *Solyman* caus'd him

to

to be guarded into the City, and gave habits of honour to all the Knights that attended him.

Three days after *Solyman* himſelf rode to view the Trenches, the Batteries, the Breaches, and the Tower of St. *Nicholas*. Upon his return he enter'd the Palace attended only by *Achmat*, and *Ibrahim*, then a Page, but highly belov'd by him, and ask'd for the Grand Maſter. When he ſaw him, he made a kind of offer to raiſe his Turbant from his head with his hand, out of reſpect not permitting the Grand Maſter to make any obeyſance to him below his dignity. Bidding him fear nothing, and telling him withall, if he had not time enough, he would allow him more. The Grand Maſter return'd him thanks, but deſir'd nothing more of him then to be mindful of his promiſe. Thereupon *Solyman* remounted, and having view'd the Church of St. *John*, return'd to his Pavilion.

Upon

Upon *New-years* day the Grand Maſter having taken his leave of *Solyman*, and embark'd as many of the choiceſt great Guns as the time would permit, attended by all the Knights, and as many of the beſt of the Citizens, who rather choſe to follow his fortunes, then ſubmit to the Tyranny of the *Turks*, went aboard the Galleys appointed to carry the diſconſolate Traine, and the beſt of their goods, and ſteer'd away for *Candy*.

Thus did The Order of St. *John* looſe R*hodes*, after they had held and maintain'd it with ſo much conſtancy, ſo much Expence of treaſure, and loſs of blood, againſt the whole power of the Barbarous *Mahometans*, for the ſpace of two hun- and thirty years.

FINIS.